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‘*Hair*: The Performance of Rebellion in American Musical Theatre of the 1960s’

Sarah Elisabeth Browne

ORCID: 0000-0003-2002-9794

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This Thesis has been completed as a requirement for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

This thesis considers the musical, *Hair* as a seminal moment in musical theatre history. In examining this musical's social and historical context, the study explores the ways in which *Hair* raises cultural consciousness through its approach to representing marginalised identities on-stage. The analysis presented illustrates how *Hair* considered America's Others and in doing so, asserts that both race and gender are not fixed and are instead fluid, created in-process and in response to cultural influences. Exploring the intersections of race, gender, age, and popular culture, this thesis utilises an approach grounded in critical musicology to illustrate the manner in which *Hair* can be considered as a form of rebellion, or resistance enacted against the established traditions of the Broadway stage. The thesis argues that *Hair* is the product of a postmodern age and, in considering how the theatrical 'text' is re-imagined beyond its original production, further asserts that *Hair* has resonances that, in themselves take on new meanings in altered contexts. Concluding that the ways in which it both reflects and informs the fragmented society from which it evolves, and contributes to the development of musical theatre, this thesis ultimately proposes that *Hair* can be considered as utopian as a result of occupying a liminal space in the history of musical theatre and placing those on the margins at the centre of its narrative. This work explores the varied and multiple ways in which *Hair* speaks to the urgency – and possibility – of social change.

Keywords:

Musical theatre, *Hair,* identity, race, gender, popular music, resistance, rebellion, utopia, counter culture

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Chapter One

Introduction

The main objective of my thesis will be to explore the performance of rebellion in American musical theatre of the 1960s, with specific reference to the musical, *Hair,* which premiered at the Public Theatre on October 17th, 1967. In doing so, I will argue that *Hair* presents a seminal moment in musical theatre history. My thesis will propose that musicological, structural and dramatic aspects of this musical indicate a shift in the way in which musical theatre is both written and received. Through exploring and interrogating how marginal identities are represented on stage, I will consider how *Hair* reflects American popular culture of the sixties and captures the beliefs and aspirations of the counter-cultural movement of the decade; in short, I read *Hair* as both shaping and being a product of the cultural moment of its production. In turn, such a reading will highlight how the creation and reception of musical theatre has shifted, marking a point of rebellion and evolution for both the genre and the larger cultural context. This thesis represents an original contribution to the field of musical theatre studies in that it offers an extended and detailed analysis of *Hair* which utilises musicology, cultural studies, and performance studies to illuminate how this musical can be considered to be a seminal moment in the history of the genre.

In the thesis, I explore the ways in which rebellion can be considered to be performative. It is therefore necessary to outline and define what is understood by the term 'rebellion' and consider the performative dynamics of resistance. My observations will be underpinned by an investigation of the peculiarities of the resistance displayed (and performed) in the United States during the sixties. Historically, this decade is defined by the rise of the youth culture and the emergence of new social attitudes that were considered to be 'counter' to the dominant, parental culture. Historians of the sixties such as Marwick, Roszak, and Kimball recognise that the counter-culture was formed of minority groups, but often note that the political concerns of the Civil Rights movements of this decade were too great to be considered in conjunction with the political projects of the young minority. However, it is clear that regardless of the definitions provided by

historians, the sixties marked a period in American history when marginal voices in America were straining to be heard; such voices were 'counter' to the hegemony of the 'American Dream' which had been re-iterated and promoted through the on-stage practices of musical theatre. My thesis will propose that, in breaking away from the traditions of the American musical stage, *Hair,* marks a rebellion in its creative process, its narrative structure and its content. Scrutinising this act of rebellion, in addition to the performance of rebellion presented on stage will lead to a consideration of the ways in which *Hair* raises cultural consciousness. As my thesis progresses, I will be attempting to argue that rebellion is a vital act in the process of re-creation. *Hair* presents moments which suggest ways in which America can recreate itself; such moments allow for a glimpse of a better world where equality in terms of race and gender has been achieved.

Current scholarship in musical theatre indicates that there is a significant gap in analysis of the decade of 1957 to 1967. This is perhaps largely due to the release of *West Side Story* in 1957; the musical prompted scholars and academics to consider its impact on the genre of musical theatre[1] and much of the work released during the early sixties is often, somewhat unfairly, compared to *West Side Story.* Like *Oklahoma!* fourteen years before it, *West Side Story* became the benchmark for the integrated musical against which all subsequent musicals were measured. Margaret Knapp's 1978 article entitled *Integration of Elements as a Viable Standard for Judging Musical Theatre* states that in an integrated musical, the book takes central place, with music and dance being integrated into the book in a way that 'enhanced the dramatic values of a scene' (113). Many histories of the musical recognise the release of *Oklahoma!* in 1943 as being the birth of the integrated musical; for example, Ewen (1968), Kislan (1980), Bordman (1982), Mordden (1983), Sears in Everett and Laird (2002), and Bush Jones (2003).

[1] Wells (2010), Berson (2011), Simeone (2009) and Acevedo-Munoz (2013) have written extensively about the cultural impact of *West Side Story.* In addition, many volumes surveying the history and development of the musical, focus heavily on the year 1957.

Furthermore, as *Hair* was created Off-Broadway, it does not always feature in surveys of mainstream musicals released on the Broadway stage. Those authors who write specifically about *Hair* (Horn 1991, Miller 2003, Grode, 2010) do so through descriptive means, outlining the content of the musical as it first premiered off and on Broadway and including little analysis of how the content can be read in the context of a somewhat fractured society in crisis. *Hair* is ripe for extended, critical analysis and undertaking such a survey will allow for an understanding of how this musical illuminates the intersections between popular culture, musical theatre and the performance of race and gender.

Hair was created Off-Broadway by actors Gerome Ragni and James Rado. Ragni, an active member of The Open Theater, introduced Rado to the experimental theatre techniques being developed Off-Off-Broadway; techniques that represent the 'theatrical expression of the anti-tradition and anti-Establishment revolution' of the decade (Schroeder, 1968: vii). *Hair* was created with the same values and using the same methods that informed underground theatre. In his introduction to *The New Underground Theatre,* Schroeder outlines that playwrights of underground theatre abandon social realism, favouring fantasy and ignore the established cultural traditions of playwriting. Insisting that 'modern man's new environment requires a new artistic response' (viii), underground plays are often presented in venues other than theatres. Furthermore, Schroeder lists elements of performance that are sacrificed in the name of challenging 'imagination and receptivity'. These include the sacrificing of 'story-line, suspense, naturalistic representation, characterization, romance, vicarious identification with a star, sympathy arousal' (1968: x-xi), all of which were established traditions of the American musical. Through identifying such moments that exemplify how these techniques have been sacrificed, my thesis will argue that the manner in which *Hair* was created rebels against the established producer-led model of the Broadway Golden Age musical. In turn, it reflects the off-stage world and challenges the audience to consider an alternative reimagining of society.

Examining the process of creation will allow for a consideration of the resulting narrative structure. A number of authors[2] purport that *Hair* was billed as the first 'rock musical', referring primarily to its musical language: the nomenclature will be discussed later in the thesis. In critiquing the narrative structure, Wollman proposes that it could also be considered to be the first concept musical. This term prompts debate about the form in general, with some authors opting for the less rigid categorisation of 'fragmented musical' (Bush-Jones, 2003:269). Such semantics are to be debated and in doing so, the thesis will highlight the hybridity of *Hair's* narrative structure. Although the musical features what appear to be a series of unrelated vignettes and scenes that deal with a number of topical issues (the Vietnam war, youth culture, drop-outs, drug use), there is a loose narrative that is interwoven in these scenes; one that focuses on whether the main character, Claude, should ignore the draft. Thus, *Hair* cannot be easily categorised within established musical theatre structures. Unwilling to fully subscribe to the confines of the book musical, with its over-arching linear narrative, *Hair* experiments with this form and manipulates it in a fashion that confirms the end of the Golden Age of musical theatre and hints at the multiple forms still to be explored. My thesis will argue that the narrative/dramatic structure of this musical is, in itself, an act of rebellion. I will explore how *Hair* could be considered as postdramatic in that it retains elements of the dramatic past but signifies a 'rupture'; less emphasis is placed on the text and the relationship between performer and audience becomes more integral. In borrowing this term from performance studies, I recognise that *Hair* may not be strictly considered as 'postdramatic' in that the musical still represents the external world and is somewhat bound by the temporal restrictions of drama. Therefore, 'postmodern' may be a more appropriate designation. However, in employing the term 'postdramatic', I aim to explore the relationship between the actors and the audience, and to recognise the ways in which *Hair* investigates broader issues beyond those that are necessarily tied to character and/or plot.

[2] Wollman (2006), Horn (1991) and Miller (2003)

Lehmann asserts that postdramatic theatre 'often focuses on exploring the usually unacknowledged anxieties, pressures, pleasures, paradoxes and perversities that surround the performance situation' (Jurs-Munby in Lehmann, 2006: 4). *Hair* explores such elements through the inclusion of unrelated vignettes and these moments are further interrogated throughout the course of this thesis.

Finally, examining the content of the musical will lead to an investigation of identities that have been marginalised in American culture and how *Hair* aspired to raise cultural consciousness in its representations of the 'Other' on stage. Approaching race and gender as cultural constructs reacting to historical forces, my analysis will aid in understanding how a reading of the stereotypes used could be more nuanced. Such a reading illuminates how *Hair* could be considered as revolutionary, but also recognises how the representation of identity remains occasionally ambivalent, particularly in my analysis of its treatment of female characters. It should be noted that the creative team of *Hair* consists entirely of white men who attempt to account for the lived experience of women and African Americans and this is perhaps where much of this ambiguity stems from. However, my thesis will examine how *Hair* attempts to challenge and liberate the stereotypes affixed to these multiple identities that had been promoted and reiterated via the traditions of the American musical theatre stage. By considering identity through various lenses, I will propose that *Hair* communicates the fluid nature of personal, cultural and national identity during a time of perceived upheaval in American history. In recognising that the sixties could be viewed as a decade of significant change, I will utilise Arnold Van Gennep's theory of the Rites of Passage to propose that the representation of marginal identities within the musical functions as the liminal stage of this process, allowing for a utopian vision of the place of marginal voices in American society. Gennep's theory is particularly appropriate because it seems to apply to both the transitional period experienced by America in the sixties, in addition to the period of development evident in the progression of the Broadway musical. Furthermore, scenes in the musical *Hair* also reiterate the three stages of the rites

of passage;[3] separation, liminality, and reaggregation or incorporation (discussed in greater detail on page 41). Such moments in *Hair* often begin by highlighting the first stage of separation through defining difference. The second stage (liminality) is then often played out through a series of both visual and aural signifiers. The third stage is often left open for the audience to reimagine the entry of the subject into a new status and it is at this point that the utopian elements of *Hair* are perhaps most evident.

By analysing the established traditions of the Broadway stage and locating *Hair* within the catalogue of other musicals of the sixties, this project will seek to provide a rigorous application of critical theory to this key work in order to explore personal, national and political identity. *Hair* is unique in that, although it was developed Off-Broadway it did transfer to the Broadway stage and remained largely the same as its original incarnation at the Public Theatre; an indication that it was considered to appeal to a wider, more mainstream audience. The project will seek to uncover the reasons why this musical, which embodied many of the values of the counter-culture, entered mainstream culture via the commercial Broadway stage. Furthermore, my investigation will not only consider the original production but also analyse subsequent revivals and contemporary stagings (both in live performance and in cinematic form) to debate the ways in which *Hair* explored and challenged race and gender as cultural constructs reacting to specific historical forces.

Chapter one will discuss American national identity and will place American musical theatre of the 1960s in its historical and cultural context. Following the Second World War, America reinforced narratives about its national identity. The conservatism of the fifties was born out of nostalgia and was fuelled by a fear of the Other and protectionism of American values. These values were promulgated

[3] It is interesting to note that in his exploration of Gennep's liminal period, Turner (1964) proposes that the rites of passage can accompany any change from one state to another and cites that this includes 'when a whole *tribe* goes to war' (47). The term 'tribe' is particularly noteworthy in the context of *Hair*, as discussed throughout this thesis.

on the Broadway stage. The sixties saw the rise of the counter-culture whose principles were developed in reaction to the perceived 'crisis' in American culture. The era is defined by new and emerging social attitudes towards marginal identities, governance, consumerism and a global awareness of America's position on the world stage. This chapter will explore how social attitudes were reflected in musical theatre. Proposing that musicals of this era similarly reflected a crisis in the development of the genre, I will establish that *Hair* exemplifies a rebellion against the established traditions of the Broadway stage. Chapter two examines the fifties and sixties, outlining how the struggle for black civil rights re-emerged into the public arena and became one of the most significant, pressing social issues America had faced. Musical theatre and other popular forms of entertainment had historically undermined African-Americans through the use of parody and misrepresentation, resulting in entrenched stereotypes which saturated popular culture throughout the twentieth century. The ensemble of the musical *Hair* features a number of black characters. Their roles within the tribe are prescribed and often defined by race alone. This chapter seeks to explore how these black characters are presented through song, dance, text and costume and will propose that, often by employing stereotypes, moments in the musical function as the liminal transition period similar to the 'in-between' state outlined in the Rites of Passage. Through analysis of the score, text and performance, this chapter will outline how *Hair* presents a performance of 'blackness' which raises cultural consciousness and enables black audiences to consider possibilities for the final stage of the rites of passage; re-assimilation.

Chapter three provides a similar approach to the performance of gender. The early 1960s is often cited as the beginning of Second Wave Feminism. In 1963, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique,* a critique of the depiction of women in mainstream American media and their relegation to domesticity following the Second World War. During the sixties, the debate for gender equality became concerned with issues of sexuality, workplace conditions and reproductive rights. The plot of the musical *Hair* focuses predominantly on male

characters and moreover, the central theme of the plot focuses on the relationship between the two male lead characters. The women featured in the tribe however, typify the debates central to the feminist movement. This chapter will examine scenes from the musical that feature the performance of female gender and analyse the performativity of gender throughout the musical.

Hair's approach to the performance of both race and gender are considered in the discussion provided in chapter four which will debate the ways in which the musical can be considered to be a rebellion against the established traditions of the American musical stage. It does so by focusing on specific elements of *Hair* that indicate a shift towards a new form of musical. Whilst several authors categorise the musical as the first rock musical or the first concept musical, this chapter will argue that it cannot fit easily into either category but instead approaches storytelling in a unique fashion which through challenging cultural constructs, communicates something specific about the cultural context in which it was created and a vision of the society America could hope to become. Through considering *Hair* in a postdramatic and postmodern context, the chapter will show how the 'text' of *Hair* in its various forms is both rebellious and performative. These forms are further debated in chapter five where I consider *Hair* as literary utopia by proposing that its structure and content mark a point of revolution for musical theatre, which ultimately contributes to the evolution of musical theatre. The chapter also considers ways in which *Hair* proposes a blueprint for utopian practice and explores the manner in which it can be considered to speak to social and political theory. Through examining revivals of the musical, this chapter will seek to propose that *Hair*'s utopian values lie not only in the feelings it can elicit to its audience, but also in its relevance to contemporary society.

Literature Review

Musical Theatre of the Sixties

Existing literature that deals specifically with musical theatre during the 1960s is scarce and is often only afforded isolated chapters within publications that deal with the historical development of the genre throughout the twentieth century. This, in itself, perhaps reflects a period of transition, or rupture, for the American musical during the sixties. Although existing literature does not fully recognise this, similarly, it does not always identify that *Hair* approached the musical genre in a different manner, being a product of and reflecting the cultural moment. In proposing that *Hair* exemplifies this crisis, it is essential to examine the traditions of the musical theatre stage that had been established by the end of the 1950s in order to illustrate how the musical subverted and experimented with a number of these fundamental traditions. Raymond Knapp's two seminal publications; *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (2005) and *The American Musical and the Performance of Personal Identity* (2006) are important in terms of analysing representations of identity on stage. However, Knapp's distinction does not allow for a discussion of the interconnectivity between these elements. In the former publication, Knapp chooses to analyse only three musicals written in the 1960s (*Hair: 1967, Fiddler on the Roof: 1964* and *Cabaret: 1966*). Through analysis of the score he recognises that in *Hair,* 'politically, central events of the 1960s seemed to cry out for theatrical representation' (154). Knapp observes that the decade saw both political and musical turmoil which triggered a crisis for the American musical theatre. He highlights the development of musical genres which had their roots in the performance traditions of African Americans and were 'widely embraced' (153) by whites, and it is the utilisation of such genres in *Hair* that will form the basis for analysing representations of race and culture in this thesis. Knapp's analysis however, draws out a number of key themes that deserve further, detailed exploration; he argues that the representations of various identities were merely tokens, etched against a white, middle-class background. He proposes that these representations were presented

as 'intriguingly different' (156) but the security of the 'Tribe' in which these exist allowed for the white, middle-class audience to explore new ideas and behaviours. Knapp appears to be considering representations of identity in binary form, suggesting a self/Other dichotomy and in doing so, also hints at the reception of such a work by asserting that the audience is predominantly white. This may indeed be the case and is certainly the demographic of the established audience for Broadway musicals. My thesis however, will consider identity as being fluid and will also recognise ways in which the production may be read by black audiences.

In recognising the central technique of framing these representations within a 'Tribe', Knapp draws correlations between this and the use of the 'familiar marriage trope' used to communicate community in many Broadway musicals. Drawing parallels between the 'tribe' and the chorus-based communities of *Oklahoma!* (1943)*, Guys and Dolls* (1950) and *The Music Man* (1957)*,* the author highlights one of the key themes of Golden Age musicals; the community (or chorus/ensemble) expressing the ideals of the nation through song.[4] Knapp proposes that *Hair's* 'Tribe' functions as an 'extended group marriage' (156) in which there exist representations of marginalised identities but always against a backdrop of established white middle-class values. Participation in such a community was, Knapp insists, dependant entirely on knowing the musical material and singing along, further purporting that the release of songs from *Hair* and their subsequent success in the *Billboard* charts, gave credence to the communal voice at the heart of the musical. He highlights that the tradition of musical theatre songs dominating the airwaves had, by the mid-sixties, become a rarity. The release of five musical numbers from *Hair* and their success on the *Billboard* charts[5] not only helped to sell the show but also allowed the voice of the

[4] McMillin, in his 2006 publication *The Musical as Drama* devotes an entire chapter to the use of the community to establish national identity in the works of Rodgers and Hammerstein.

[5] The 5th Dimension's version of 'Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In' (1969) topped the charts for six weeks. The Cowsills' recording of the title song reached number 2 in the charts, whilst Oliver's release of 'Good Morning, Starshine' reached position 3. 'Easy to be Hard', recorded by Three Dog

'Tribe' to enter popular mainstream culture. This crossover into popular culture also meant that younger audiences similarly 'crossed-over' and attended musical theatre as evidenced later in this thesis in discussing an audience survey.

Knapp proposes that key characters of this community are archetypes, each representing universal patterns of human nature. He describes how each member of the tribe represents shared cultural experiences and uses both this observation and the structure of the opening song ('Aquarius') to illustrate similar theatrical strategies used in earlier works, most notably those with community at the very heart of its wider message (*Oklahoma!*). Knapp focuses largely on the 'counter-mythological' nature of the musical (153), highlighting that *Hair* attempted to offer a viable alternative to the musicals that had promoted the views of the established, dominant, older generation. The use of the term counter-mythological as opposed to counter-cultural is interesting. In using this term, Knapp recognises that the established, dominant cultural values were, in themselves mythological in nature, often reiterated on stage through the use of archetypes whose function in the 'community' of the Broadway musical was to propose how America *should* be, rather than how it actually was. Imagining a better future hints at the possible utopian nature of the musical, which will be explored in greater depth throughout my thesis. Knapp asserts that *Hair* could be considered as a 'propositional redefinition of America' (154). In doing so, he does not fully consider the possibility that the mythological aspects of this musical may have been grounded in those same myths upon which the country was founded. I shall return to this notion of myth later in the literature review when considering the construction of American national identity in order to explore the idea of rebirth and renewal within this context.

In his subsequent book, Knapp often relies on two musicals of the decade to explore the performance of personal identity. These are Leigh, Darion and

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Night, charted at position 4. Nina Simone's recording of 'Ain't Got No/I Got Life' (discussed in chapter 4) reached position 94 on the *Billboard* chart and position 2 on the UK charts.

Wasserman's musical, *Man of La Mancha* and Coleman and Field's 1966 musical, *Sweet Charity* and they are used to illustrate his discussion of 'idealism and inspiration' (chapter four) and 'gender and sexuality' (chapter five) respectively. Knapp makes several interesting points when clarifying his use of the terms 'idealism and inspiration'; he notes that the former relates directly to utopian visions which present alternatives to the real world, usefully highlighting that Americans fought their revolutionary war of 1776 based on idealism. Using *Man of La Mancha* as his case study, Knapp illustrates that the show is structured around a failed marriage trope and is placed within the context of idealistic chivalry. He recognises that the sixties was a decade in which 'idealism flowered briefly' (168), whilst also highlighting that the language of many of the musicals of this era was grounded in Broadway tradition and catered for older generations, thus resulting in side-stepping the increasing sense of liberation felt by the youth culture. In his opening introduction to the chapter on gender and sexuality, Knapp recognises that the musical often genders its themes 'according to audience expectations and pre-existing stereotypes' (205), but occasionally will challenge or subvert those stereotypes. He further notes that when this occurs, it is generally reflective of contemporary societal attitudes. In this respect, Knapp's choice of *Sweet Charity* as one of his case studies is interesting because although the central character's ultimate ending can be read as liberating, the fact that Charity is presented in highly-sexualised terms is perhaps not entirely reflective of changing attitudes towards women in the 1960s (particularly in the latter part of the decade). Although Charity realises that she can continue alone, without the security of being in a relationship, she has been presented in ways which define and restrict the feminine, doing little to promote a feminist ideology or utopian values for the female audience member. Knapp's choice of case studies from this era tell us little about the fluid nature of identity apparent in the 1960s counter-cultural movements.

A number of authors have chosen to focus their work solely on what they believe to be the most revolutionary musical of this decade; *Hair.* These authors[6] provide an analysis of the musical in terms of its journey to Broadway and its acknowledgment and portrayal of the key historical events of the sixties, but fail to add to the analytical aspect of Knapp's work. Perhaps the most enlightening publication is Lorrie Davis' (cast member of the original Broadway production) account of her two years in the 'tribe' of *Hair*, which will provide an insight into the devising process, revealing a different construction method to previous Broadway musicals. It is clear that *Hair* derived its process from the Off-Broadway contemporary practices in New York City. Davis charts the rehearsal process in varying degrees of detail and devotes several pages to explaining the trust exercises that were fundamental to many rehearsals. However, less detail is afforded to how the music and choreography were developed. Davis notes that the 'tribe' frequently offered ideas and interpretations of the material and this allows for a consideration of the possibility that the African American influences included in MacDermot's score came directly from the cast. Although there is no existing source material to indicate the exact moments in the score when this happened, it prompts a discussion of the authenticity of the 'sound' of the musical; it could be considered that utilising African American styles throughout the score is merely a form of cultural appropriation. The more enlightening areas of Davis's recollections include preparing the show for a Broadway stage. Her proximity to the work allows the reader to understand the power structures at play in preparing work for Broadway; although Davis details moments when the 'tribe' were invited to contribute to the creative process, she notes, often with startling clarity, that ownership of the project firmly lay in the hands of Michael Butler, the producer. The producer-led model highlighted by Davis is one that is common to the Golden Age of the Broadway stage and by including this information in her account, Davis elucidates some of the differences between the Broadway and Off-Broadway methods of creation which, in turn suggests that the

[6] Davis (1973), Horn (1991), Miller (2003), Johnson (2004) and Grode (2010).

musical's transfer to Broadway may not entirely reflect the rebellious nature of its original incarnation.

Barbara Lee Horn's 1991 publication entitled *The Age of Hair*, addresses the evolution and impact of the musical. The author includes an overview of the musical and describes each scene in varying levels of detail. In analysing *Hair*'s controversial issues, Horn recognises that the form of the musical was, in itself, revolutionary.[7] Horn's observations regarding the score of *Hair* are insightful and she outlines the debate as to whether this musical should have been billed as a 'rock musical' or whether the music of MacDermot's score was merely commercial 'pop'.[8] Recalling critical reviews of the Broadway production, Horn succinctly highlights that the 'syncretic' nature of the music could in itself, be interpreted as 'an attempt to bridge another generational gap' (84), perhaps referring to the average age of Broadway audiences and the younger generation. This is an interesting argument and could be expanded further to consider ways in which the music bridged a racial and cultural gap. Drawing from interviews with the creative team and critical reviews of the productions of *Hair,* Horn recognises that the music of the score became embedded in the zeitgeist of the era.

Similarly, Scott Miller writes about *Hair* from personal experience having directed productions of the musical in St. Louis in 2000 and 2001. The dates of these publications indicate that Miller's experiences with *Hair* are of staging revivals at a much later time in American history. As a result, many of his observations are largely anecdotal and he writes with a clear fondness for the musical, rather than from a critical viewpoint. This is perhaps most evident in his evaluation of the songs 'Black Boys/White Boys' and 'Abie Baby', which are afforded a single

[7] This is an observation echoed in Wollman's 2006 book on the rock musical in which she purports that the musical signalled the advent of this genre and was perhaps, the first concept musical (this is discussed later in the survey of Wollman's work).

[8] Horn argues (using Graham Vulliamy's 1977 article *Music and the Mass Cultural Debate)* that the score is a convergence of jazz, blues, soul, country and western and rock. She proposes that the use of the term 'rock' in the title is perhaps linked to the non-commercial nature of the genre as opposed to the more commercial nature of 'pop' in which artists had little control over the creation of the music.

paragraph each (which is similar to Horn and equally as descriptive). He does however, observe that the interracial nature of the cast forced audiences to consider the social roles delineated by race, 'demanding that the audience see these separations as arbitrary and ridiculous' (2003:113).

Authors who deal with *Hair* in the context of a wider subject include John Bush Jones (2003) and Elizabeth Wollman, the latter devoting a chapter to the musical in her survey of the history of the rock musical. In *The Theater Will Rock*, Wollman offers useful information regarding the relationship between Broadway, Off-Broadway and Off-Off-Broadway, contextualising the development of *Hair* within this framework. Noting the relationship between actor and musician, Wollman describes the process through which the music was developed, recognising that the cast played a role in this. The theme of combining the personal and the political - in that individual cast members were keen to explore larger political concerns through their own personal performance - is emphasised through the use of interviews with original cast members (Natalie Mosco, Walter Michael Harris, Marjorie LiPari and Heather MacRae) and there are some interesting insights offered about the nature of MacDermot's score. Expanding on Horn's debate about the 'rock' nature of the music, Wollman offers a more detailed definition of rock music, noting that the term itself 'refers to a much broader, often more musically sophisticated genre, which became linked with the social and political turmoil of the time' (50). She notes the ways in which 'rock' departs from the earliest forms of rock 'n' roll; the increased reliance on electronic sound generation and amplification, the move away from the rigid twelve-bar blues form and the use of lyrics to reflect social and political issues. These developments are all viewed through the lens of *Hair* providing the prototype for subsequent rock musicals. The author proposes that *Hair* could be labelled as the first concept musical.[9] Using Gottfried's term and also citing Bush Jones' preference for the term 'fragmented musical', she explains how *Hair* de-

[9] The concept musical is often referred to as a 'de-constructed' or 'book-less' musical.

emphasises the book – essentially, the script - and relies instead on 'music and movement to tell a story or elaborate on a unifying theme' (46). Commenting that the narrative was 'loose' (47) and that the plot and characters were generated from perceptions about counter-cultural life, Wollman argues that although the structure appears to be a series of 'interrelated vignettes' (47), these are united by the over-arching plot of whether Claude (the lead character) will burn his draft card or go to Vietnam. She proposes that the musical did, however, depart from the standard structure of the traditional Broadway book musical in terms of its loose narrative and the number of songs included in the score (thirty-two). By using the 'interlude' section following this chapter to explore the relationship between the performer and the audience, Wollman specifically notes '*Hair's* indifference to the fourth wall' (70) as being the main technique used to solidify its rock musical hybrid status. This technique, although familiar to Off-Off-Broadway theatre, was not one that was used on Broadway and dispensing with the techniques of the traditional book musical and affording the audience the opportunity to view performers as both characters and actors also contributed to the hybrid status of the musical. The fact that several authors debate the terminology that should be used to describe the form and structure of *Hair* is perhaps indicative of a transition period in terms of the art form and the wider society.

John Bush Jones in his 2003 publication *Our Musicals, Ourselves: A Social History of the American Musical Theatre* devotes two chapters to what he describes as the 'issue driven musicals of the turbulent years' (235). Recognising, like Woll (1989), that the sixties saw a decline in the production of black musicals, (such as *Simply Heavenly,* 1957 and the inter-racially produced *Beggar's Holiday,* 1946*)* Bush Jones outlines the social changes that dominated much of this decade and highlights a number of musicals whose plot shares the stage with 'a social or political agenda' (237). He astutely remarks that the Civil Rights movement of the sixties was focused on highlighting commonalities between blacks and whites and promoting a shared humanity, and that previous black musicals focused on

depicting 'African-Americans' differences from whites' (203). No longer appropriate in an age of attempted racial integration, Bush Jones proposes that this is the main reason for the absence of black musical theatre on stage in the 1960s. His analysis is largely textual and he draws clear correlations between the performance of social change to key historical events of that era. Bush Jones chooses to base his analysis on a larger catalogue than Knapp, surveying the entire decade of the sixties and the remainder of the twentieth century. His coverage of an entire century ensures that social-historical events are described in detail but this is often at the expense of detailed analysis of individual musicals or indeed, musicological analysis.

Whilst Bush Jones successfully links the social tensions that existed in American society throughout the twentieth century to the narrative and perceived success of key musicals, he does not always explain how these musicals function to examine issues of race and assimilation, unlike Andrea Most in her 2004 publication *Making Americans: Jews and the Broadway Musical.* Although the main focus is, as the title suggests, examining the Jewish contribution to Musical Theatre, Most explores the narrative of Jewish acculturation in America. In doing so, she proposes that 'the musical theater offered an array of techniques for (1) defining community, (2) encoding otherness, (3) playing roles, and (4) defining the boundaries of the self' (2004:3). These categories are particularly useful as they suggest ways in which identity (and the performance of identity) can be considered. She relates each of these elements to the assimilation of Jewish immigrants into American society, highlighting how musicals allow these themes to be explored. Most uses a number of key musicals to illustrate how these themes are expressed throughout the Golden Age of Musical Theatre; she examines the use of community and otherness in *Oklahoma!* and *South Pacific* and role-playing and defining the self in *Babes in Arms* and *Annie Get Your Gun.*

Arguing that the very nature of musical comedy is essentially a separation of elements (song, story, dance), Most proposes that this format serves to provide an 'assimilation effect' (9) as opposed to the 'distancing effect'

(Verfremdungseffekt), first theorised by Brecht. Songs in musical comedy function as moments of rebirth; the character on stage is given the opportunity to create a different character to the one presented in dialogue scenes. The subsequent desire of the audience to sing along and participate in the self-invention taking place on stage leads Most to suggest that this is the moment of assimilation, rather than alienation between the audience and characters. In this publication, Most identifies such moments and examines how songs can function as assimilatory. She does this most convincingly in her analysis of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* where she points out that the lyrics of 'The Farmer and the Cowman' outline the liberal values that will allow a diverse range of people to be accepted into the community and the title song allows for a moment of affirmation of those values, indicating assimilation and a 'vision of social unity' (107).

Although her work focuses on musical comedy (and for that reason, examines musicals of the golden age), she highlights three common themes that are conveyed in the plots of such musicals; (1) difference and community, (2) 'a vision of a utopian liberal society' whose (3) values are communicated through the central device of a love story. Whilst the love story element may be a common theme which can be traced through musicals of the first part of the twentieth century, the argument could be expanded further. The first two themes are integral to understanding work produced during this era. In her analysis of the 1937 musical, *Babes in Arms*, Most highlights the ways in which black characters are set apart and given little agency over both the theatrical and political action. In discussing these characters, Most elaborates; 'blackness is their defining characteristic – they are limited to playing black stereotypes. Their primary political function in the play is to give the white people a chance to argue over racism' (89). She adopts an interesting approach to exploring the significance of the utopian vision, asserting that the problem of race should be 'unmasked' but in doing so, the message of such a vision should not be diluted. This suggests that although the means by which race is communicated on-stage may express

complex issues in often over-simplified terms, the vision of striving for a more integrated America should not be overlooked (or additionally, reduced to a simplistic love story).

Developing her thesis across a historical spectrum that covers nearly fifty years of musical theatre history, Most's work culminates in a chapter dedicated to racial politics in *South Pacific* (1949). She proposes that this work 'is undercut by the use of racial stereotypes and the complex interplay of white Americans with ethnic and racial others' (157). The historical stereotypes that had existed early in the twentieth century were again used here, but in a realist structure that, she believes, is used for pedagogical purposes. It is at this point in the book that her arguments regarding Jewish acculturation become intertwined with the assimilation of the black race into American society. The climax of these lines of enquiry is reached in the final chapter, entitled 'Coda', in which Most argues that the 'hunger for inclusion is the mid-century musical's lasting legacy in American popular culture' (197). Her analysis here moves swiftly from *The King and I* (1951) to *A Chorus Line* (1975). Of the latter, she observes that the finale ('One'), may have fixed sexual, racial and class identities to each cast member, but 'rather than decry the homogeneity, audiences celebrate the transformation' (200). Using the personal reflections of the director and choreographer, Michael Bennett, Most observes that the intention of this musical was to express the 'sense of disillusion and fragmentation' (199) of the multicultural society of the seventies. Bennett intended for the audience to care for each individual character as they are introduced through song and dance throughout the musical, which would then allow for the final chorus number to function as a jarring display of homogeneity. Instead, the final song was met with rapturous applause as the audience reacted to 'One' with celebratory cheers. Most asserts that, so powerful is the assimilatory effect of the chorus number, this response indicates the audience has allowed their 'memories of other musicals [to] fill in the blank' (200). At this point in the book, there is no time to explore the problematic nature of this statement, but the very omission of the sixties in her analysis poses questions that remain

unanswered. It is unclear as to whether Most considers the resistant reader position that some audiences may have to adopt when viewing such material. Instead, she draws the conclusion that the audience subscribes to the social mythology (referred to as the 'American Dream' and discussed later when examining the work of Wilmer) presented on-stage.

In a similar vein, Warren Hoffman's 2014 publication, *The Great White Way: Race and the Broadway Musical* offers a survey of the Golden Age of Musical Theatre from *Show Boat* to *A Chorus Line*. This framework allows Hoffman to split his analysis into two key periods; 1927 to 1957 and 1967 to 2012 respectively. This somewhat clinical split suggests that there is little to examine in terms of race in the missing decade of 1957 to 1967. Whilst this may be the case in regards to key works of the American musical stage, his analysis would benefit from further contextualisation of some of the key events in America that contributed to the perceived end of the Golden Age that occurred in the latter years of the 1960s (it should be noted that *Hair* is briefly mentioned as being the musical that best embodies this shift in the history of the genre). His analysis at this point, focuses instead on black and interracial productions of 'white' musicals, with the debate centred firmly on colour-blind casting. In doing so, Hoffman asserts that this form of non-traditional casting urges the audience to 'read race into shows that appear raceless and universal at first glance, revealing that whiteness too has a specific and contextualized history' (118). Hoffman's publication leads the reader to focus on the normative nature of whiteness inherent in the Broadway musical with little debate that focuses on the problematic nature of black actors performing characters that were originally written for a white cast. Using the all-black production of *Hello Dolly* (1967) as his case study, Hoffman draws on critical reviews to analyse how the musical was received, stating that the casting of this musical not only reinforced segregation but also made race the 'elephant in the room' (125). Hoffman points out that this production fell between the assassinations of Malcolm X in 1965 and Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, and it would be 'merely wishful' to pretend that race does not matter in a climate of

such social unrest. He draws on critical reviews to note that the actress playing the lead role of Dolly (Pearl Bailey), didn't seem to take the show seriously, often dropping out of character to ad-lib and break the fourth wall. Further exploration of Bailey's techniques may have allowed for an extended discussion of the performance of race as a site of contestation.

However, in the opening chapter, Hoffman introduces some interesting themes; the 'utopic' promise of the musical genre, the inherent sense of community and the political power of whiteness to assert normativity and racial privilege by 'not announcing its presence' (9). These arguments combine to reach one overarching conclusion; that the Broadway musical is inherently white: 'a white cultural phenomenon' (27). In identifying such a conclusion, Hoffman proposes that the privileging of whiteness is an issue which will continue to pervade the Broadway musical and that the only way this can be tackled is for the audience to buy a ticket for shows that 'give voice to non-white writers and stories' (211). Whilst he astutely observes that white audiences must not remain complicit in the privilege that white invisibility affords, his 'solutions' appear over-simplified, perhaps as a result of a lack of interrogation of how race is performed both on and off-stage. This inherent whiteness, coupled with the crisis of the 1960s (evident in Hoffman's discussion of *Hello Dolly!*) offers the opportunity to consider the production of *Hair* as a moment of rebellion; not only in terms of staging and content but also in surveying the representation of the performance of race in musical theatre.

Allen Woll's 1989 volume, *Black Musical Theatre: From Coontown to Dreamgirls* focuses on the evolution of black musical theatre from the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century and considers the contributions of black performers and creators of the genre. His primary focus is to detail works created by black writers and composers, whilst also including information about the careers of various black artists. Woll chooses not to focus on representations of race and culture but instead considers the challenge presented to black artists in a white dominated environment.

His account is largely historical and, as a result, offers a broad survey of the twentieth century. Some of the accounts contained in the book offer interesting insights into how black writers and performers attempted to integrate themselves into the art form; deciding whether to use the platform of musical theatre to educate or to assimilate. The chapter that recounts the careers of Bob Cole (composer, actor, playwright, producer and director) and the Johnson brothers (musical comedy writers) provides a glimpse into how black composers and writers viewed the task of composing for Broadway; 'What we aim to do….is evolve a type of music that will have all that is distinct in the old Negro music and yet which shall be sophisticated enough to appeal to the cultured musician' (21). This suggests that Bob Cole himself felt that Negro music was neither sophisticated nor cultured. Cole qualifies his remarks by explaining that he wanted the Negro song to evolve; to build on a simple melody, 'a regular jungle song with its boom-boom accompaniment […] and trace it up through all the stages of Negro development' (22). Woll describes the reception of Cole and Johnson's work particularly well, noting that one accusation frequently levelled at their work was that it was 'too imitative of white works' (24).

Woll notes that the racially-integrated casts of 1940s musicals quelled any fear that the number of musicals written by black composers and writers was in sharp decline, but by the following decade black employment on Broadway declined too. A committee established by The League of New York Theatres, the Dramatists' Guild, the Negro Actors Guild and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were tasked with investigating why this was the case and reported that white authors were removing stereotypical roles from their plays and musicals for fear of causing offence but this 'ill-directed sensitivity […] has worked inadvertent harm to the Negro artist' (218). The committee's report identified that the solution was to enlarge the scope and participation of Negro artists in all forms of entertainment and in all types of roles, noting that this would reflect their changing place in American society.

In chapter fifteen, entitled 'Revival', Woll comments that black musical theatre experienced a reversal of fortune in the early 1970s, experiencing success on Broadway. He remarks in passing that, by the early 1960s, the white cultural construct of the Broadway musical was perceived by audiences of both races to be out of step with the times. In the previous chapter, Woll outlines a number of white-written black musicals that had been released during the sixties and although some of these musicals dealt (albeit, fleetingly) with the subject of the civil rights movement, Woll himself does not make a link between the events of the sixties and the resurgence of popularity in black musicals in the seventies. The chapter that deals with the sixties offers brief overviews of a handful of musicals, written by white composer and lyricists, and the topics covered by each musical (miscegenation appears to be a popular theme). But what is not discussed is how difference is represented on stage and often the analysis presented is in the form of a critic's review.

The lack of literature dealing with the sixties in musical theatre indicates that there is a gap in scholarship in the field that requires further research. This period was a moment of crisis for the Broadway stage, perhaps reflecting the broader 'crisis' in America, manifested in the counter-cultural movement and the relationship between musical theatre and the counter-culture should be explored further. Therefore, it appears both necessary and relevant to scrutinise the term 'counter-culture' in greater detail. This is best done through considering the formation of identity through the lens of America's historical narratives; its immigrant history, cultural identity and the perceived notion of the 'Melting Pot'.

The Formation of American Identity

In their publication, *American Cultural Studies: An Introduction to American Culture* (3rd ed. 2012), Neil Campbell and Alasdair Kean outline the issues surrounding the formation of an American national identity and the narratives constructed around the multicultural nature of this nation. They refer to the 'American Dream', recognising that the dream expresses a 'dominant American

national myth' (11), which serves to construct national character and defines the American spirit. Drawing on the work of Levi Strauss, the authors outline the functions of mythology; to move from opposition to resolution and to reinforce ideological images through texts and practices. This is a useful definition to adopt when surveying the methods through which ideological mythology (and subsequently, counter-mythology – discussed later) is communicated through the practices of the American musical theatre stage. Myths (the stories told within a culture) function to resolve difference, explain complexities and often simplify the world in which we live. These stories function as ideology because they reinforce the values and beliefs that maintain and reproduce socio-political power. Roland Barthes asserts that myth is 'depoliticized speech'; it functions not to deny the complexity of human relations but instead simplify them. Myths 'organize[s] a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth, [. . .] it establishes a blissful clarity: things appear to mean something by themselves.' (1957: 142-143). Furthermore, mythology '*harmonizes* with the world, not as it is, but as it wants to create itself' (157, emphasis in original) and the emphasis here suggests that myth contributes to both the creation – and subsequent sustaining – of idealised notions of community.

In their chapter entitled 'New Beginnings', Campbell and Kean discuss identity and recognise that it is a 'constantly shifting territory in America' (39). Renewal and re-vision are the key points of their debate and form the basis for a discussion of the sixties and the imagery of the counter-culture. They outline the principles of the counter-culture and draw on the words of Beat writer, Allen Ginsberg to highlight the disillusionment of many who felt that the American dream had been hijacked by corporate organisations. Through 'stressing the *utopian* aspects….as distinguished from its *economic* aspects' (Sayres in Campbell and Kean, 2012:38), marginalised groups who were excluded from the original formation of the American dream, sought to reinvent and re-think notions of identity and nation. It is interesting to note that the counter-cultural movement sought to renew America's ideologies and values and at this point, the use of the term 'counter'

becomes somewhat problematic; the ideologies surrounding the initial formation of the American dream point to rebirth, renewal and reinvention and yet it is the same qualities that the counter-cultural movement rely on so frequently in their dialogue. These qualities, I argue, have always remained at the root of the formation of American national identity and so to distinguish them as counter to the dominant culture, is misleading. It suggests that the dominant parental culture in America held no desire to reinvent and renew and yet, the stale capitalist imagery to which Campbell, Kean, Ginsberg and Sayres refer, possesses many of the same ideologies.

Steve Wilmer's 2002 publication *Theatre, Society and the Nation: Staging American Identities* draws further parallels with the capitalist ideology of America by referring directly to the counter-cultural movement as 'counter-capitalist'. His comprehensive approach to the analysis of American identity and performance focuses briefly on the country's journey from British colony to independent nation, before turning its attention to twentieth century performance and how America has imagined and reconstructed a multicultural nation. Here, Wilmer's initial argument stems from America's struggle to reconcile itself with the metaphor of the 'Melting Pot' particularly in view of the nation's ideals being built on the white, Protestant archetype.

Much of the analysis in this publication focuses on post World War II performance and the employment of stereotypes of African Americans, Asian Americans and women. Wilmer outlines the 'American Dream' in terms of capitalist and counter-capitalist material and briefly comments on how these performances portray the Other. Chapter five is a comprehensive analysis of the staging of social rebellion in the 1960s with Wilmer asserting that the Vietnam War gave impetus to many of the protests and performances staged in this decade, highlighting that 'what distinguished the ethnic theatre of the 1960s, was a new sense of urgency that reflected the volatile social context' (132). He establishes that new social attitudes were expressed in a variety of mediums including music and popular culture and it is in this argument that connections can be made with the American

musical stage in the works of *Viet Rock* (Megan Terry, 1966)*, Now is the Time for All Good Men, The Last Sweet Days of Isaac* (both written by Nancy Ford and Gretchen Cryer, and released in 1967 and 1970 respectively) and most notably, *Hair.*

The Counter-Culture

The term 'counter-culture'[10] has been used liberally throughout works that deal with the performance of social rebellion in the sixties and it is beneficial to trace the uses of the term and its subsequent uses. It was probably first used by Theodore Roszak in his collection of essays, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the technocratic society and its youthful opposition.* First published in 1968, this book offers a useful insight in that it does not rely on retrospect to document youth culture. Roszak broadly defines the counter culture as:

> ...the embryonic cultural base of New Left politics, the effort to discover new types of community, new family patterns, new sexual mores, new kinds of livelihood, new aesthetic forms, new personal identities on the far side of power politics, the bourgeois home, and the Protestant work ethic.
>
> (Roszak in Marwick , 1998:11)

Roszak states that the counter-culture he describes 'embraces only a strict minority of the young and a handful of their adult mentors' (xii) and succinctly identifies that the political project of the black young would require a separate volume in its own right. He extensively describes the groups that the counter-culture excludes, most notably, the 'militant black young, whose political project has become so narrowly defined in ethnic terms' (1968: xii) and refers in more general terms, to the 'generational dichotomy' (2). The use of this particular terminology suggests that the counter culture was indeed built on binary differences; those who subscribed to the Protestant (read: white, parental,

[10] The use of the terms 'counter-culture' and 'counter-cultural' are debated throughout this section. For the purposes of this thesis, the term 'counter-culture' will be used most frequently; this is further outlined in the following chapters.

European) work ethic and those who remained outside this cultural group. He recognises that the discontent expressed by the counter culture is one innovative enough to lead a disoriented United States into a civilisation that could be identified as 'home', hinting again at the same discourse of rebirth and renewal mentioned by Campbell and Kean, in order to create a new nation. Whilst surveying similar events in Western Europe, Roszak recognises that the American young have been quicker to sense the struggle against the 'enemy' (both internal and external) because the technocracy is more highly developed in the US than in any other society. Explaining the term 'technocracy' as a 'social form in which an industrial society reaches the peak of its organisational integration' (5), Roszak argues that much of the discontent of the counter culture stems from the technocracy's ability to adopt or reject, promote or disparage any new developments before the general public has any awareness of them. He then examines the anti-technocratic, leading influences on the counter-culture (Ginsberg, Watts, Leary and Goodman) illustrating how, through their work, they have encouraged the youth of America to form utopian visions of a world in which human creativity and community thrive.

The theme of cultural revolution is expanded on in Arthur Marwick's comprehensive survey of the sixties. Published in 1998, Marwick's considerable volume explores the events of the decade in both the United States and in key countries throughout Western Europe. His chapter on race offers a detailed view of key events in America during the years 1958 to 1963 and provides the context for the latter part of the decade, which he labels as 'the high sixties'. Marwick also contests the use of the term 'counter culture' and notes the problematic use of the phrase to represent a single, unified movement, consistently in opposition to the mainstream culture so he chooses instead to use the adjective 'counter-cultural' rather than conveniently (and simplistically) group together all the 'many and varied activities and values which contrasted with, or were critical of, the conventional values and modes of established society' (12). Marwick charts the events of the era with the meticulous approach of a historian, providing useful

facts and figures, many of which elucidate some of the main events covered in the volume. He also chooses to substitute the term 'counter-culture' with 'subculture', insisting that the large number of subcultures that were created during this period 'expanded and interacted with each other' (1998:11). This is perhaps a much more accurate term to employ, reflective of the multiple voices and narratives that constitute an American cultural identity. The use of both terms however, is somewhat problematic; the former suggests that the cultural values of this group reacted against the prevalent culture, whilst the latter suggests that the group's beliefs and values were somewhat intertwined with the dominant culture. By virtue of the prefix 'sub' however, this would suggest that these values are 'under' or 'below'; imperfect or subordinate. Gair (2007) expands on this point further and notes that there was a degree of 'permeability' between the dominant and counter-culture which was 'facilitated by the prosperity of post-war America' (4) but also recognises the threat the counter-culture posed to many Americans and the 'deep-rooted conservatism and hostility to otherness that characterised dominant discourse at the time' (ibid.). Throughout the duration of this thesis, the term 'counter-culture' will be used, whilst also recognising that this movement constituted numerous cultures and identities.

Of the many and varied activities that Marwick refers to, a number of other authors note the key roles of music and performance in communicating the counter-culture's critique of the values of the dominant, parental culture. In his book, *The Theater is in the Street*, Bradford D. Martin (2004) places these activities in the context of the era preceding the sixties, noting how the rulings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947 had 'heralded a period of retreat from overtly political subject matter in the arts during the fifties' (8). He notes in his observations of the various political movements of the sixties how performance was used as an 'organising tool, communications medium and tactic of social contestation in the struggle for desegregation' (3). Although he asserts that it is problematic to assess the influence and impact of these public, vocal performances he draws on the work of the historian Mary Ryan, to argue that the

public ‘ceremonies’ of the early part of the decade promoted the development of a common language and ‘cultural cohesion’ (5). Martin notes that, as the sixties progressed, African-American discourse in particular moved from a desire for assimilation to an enhanced sense of black cultural identity leading to the formation of political groups such as the SNCC Freedom Singers, the Black Power Movement and the Black Panthers.

Denselow (1989) also proposes that singing was key to bringing black people together in a committed way. He cites the SNCC Freedom Singers tour which began in 1963, as being vital to the Black Power Movement. This tour provided opportunities to use black gospel music to create a climate in which both participants and observers were stirred to address the issues of both the war in Vietnam and the wider cultural issue of racial inequality. Similarly, Werner (2000) identifies the key role of music within the civil rights movement and further suggests that music helped the African-American people ‘imagine communities capable of living up to the moment, personal and political’ (103). In making such a statement, Werner not only recognises the social unrest of the era, but also recognises the utopian vision that many black communities had of an America in which equality for all races was palpable and achievable. He highlights the music of Jimi Hendrix as being perhaps the most representative of the time and place, supporting his argument by identifying that the live performances of ‘Machine Gun’, ‘Star Spangled Banner’ and ‘Love or Confusion’ all contain sounds representative of war; screams and explosions that were replicated by the sound of amplified instruments (most notably, the guitar.) It is interesting to note that Werner chooses to cite the live performances of Hendrix as appropriate examples, perhaps indicating that the event of experiencing and receiving live music is a key factor in the construction of a national and local identity. The audience experiencing such performances formed an inter-racial community. This, coupled with the sounds of war, replicated on an instrument played by a black musician, provides a powerful indicator of time and place; those who experience this performance are able to share in a collective knowledge of the era (one largely

defined by the Vietnam war), coupled with the performance of rebellion that Hendrix so clearly communicates, particularly in his performance of the American national anthem. Hendrix's message is not one of utopia but is firmly rooted in the context of the decade. In a similar vein to Most's analysis of the chorus number in musical theatre, Werner also recognises the assimilatory, communal power of music. This factor is further supported by Even Ruud (cited in Hawkins) who recognises that musical experience is key to defining the self in relation to larger cultural and social spaces.

A similar theme is interrogated in one of the essays included in the edited publication, *Imagine Nation* (2002). Lauren Onkey's contribution highlights the two arguments that dominate Jimi Hendrix's career; both are focused on race. She proposes that firstly, his performances are coded as 'white' and therefore he was frequently accused of commercially pandering to a white audience. Her second argument 'is a utopian claim that Hendrix transcended race' and quotes author, George Lipsitz in proposing that members of the counter-culture were able to 'transcend their personal histories and build new identities in an openly multiracial musical environment' (193). In using the term 'utopian' here, Onkey perhaps suggests that this was a rather naïve claim, certainly as the decade progressed and the Civil Rights movement shifted towards a greater emphasis on pride in black culture. Indeed, when both views are taken into account it would seem to imply that Hendrix's performances could almost be read as a betrayal of the concerns of the Civil Rights movement and the struggle for wider visibility and representation of African Americans in public life. However, Onkey's assertions certainly point to ways in which identity can be considered as fluid; the way in which we experience the world (and, in this case, music) are major factors in the formation of personal identity. Citing Gilroy's proposition that Hendrix is a product of the 'black Atlantic world' (discussed later), Onkey[11] further discusses

[11] Onkey (perhaps unwittingly) draws on Stuart Hall's framework to explore how Hendrix is both a stereotype of black culture but is also able to construct his public persona in such a way that the racialised elements of his performance appear contradictory.

the nature of the musician's public persona. Asserting that Hendrix 'sought places where his music, ideas and performance would not be judged by binary definitions of black and white music or identity' (193), the author proposes that instead, the utopian attempt to ignore race only served to highlight the fractures between black art and white counter-culture and argues that Hendrix represents both the possibilities and the dangers of hybridity; themes echoed by both Most and Bush-Jones in their work on musical theatre. Like Werner, Onkey mentions the live performance of Hendrix's 'Star-Spangled Banner' but focuses more closely on his appearance, drawing parallels between hybridity and the image he carefully crafted through the use of costume. She proposes that this was yet another form of conforming to stereotypes.[12]

Hendrix is briefly explored in the chapter dealing with music of the sixties included in Christopher Gair's book *The American Counterculture.* Published in 2007, the opening of this chapter provides an overview of some of the debates surrounding music of this decade. Gair places these in context by highlighting the main differences between the music of the sixties and the musical genres of the forties and fifties, noting that the shift in taste by the end of the decade 'signalled a more overtly political slant to "youth" music' (161). Gair draws out the main political issues of both bebop and rock and roll; the former helped redefine African Americans as musicians and the latter relied too heavily on African American art forms. Gair's approach, however, appears to consider the development of popular music in binary terms and does not take into consideration the possibility that music is created as a result of a number of intertextual and intercultural influences. Furthermore, he seems to communicate little consideration of rock and roll as a derivative of rhythm and blues and the way in which this was 'repackaged' by the music industry to disguise its racial origins. The chapter largely focuses on folk music of the early sixties and concludes that rock music

[12] Here, Onkey uses the stereotype of Uncle Tom most prominently, but exemplifies ways in which he conforms to the highly-sexualised stereotype of the 'Bad Buck' – although this title is not succinctly assigned.

was ‘in crisis’ (175) by the end of the decade; a factor Gair attributes largely to class and drug use. Such a discussion is interesting to note when considering the eclecticism of MacDermot’s score for *Hair.*

Music and the Sixties

The significance of music to the Civil Rights movement is also examined in Andresen’s *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War* (2000). The book devotes five key chapters to examining the popular music of the decade by placing artists and their work into specifically defined categories. Chapter four examines the consumption of recorded (as opposed to live) music produced by black artists and highlights censorship rules affecting airtime on radio stations, noting that many of these records arrived in the radio station with stickers affixed to the label warning program managers to wait until after 4pm to play such tracks. Some radio stations (that catered to a predominantly white audience) did not play them at all; ‘many of these songs articulated important and relevant viewpoints held by the African-American community but the vast potential white audience was denied the chance to hear them’ (100). When the public attempted to purchase such recordings at record stores, they often found the tracks had been covered by white artists in styles that producers felt were more acceptable to the white middle-class (for example, big band and swing.) Included in this chapter is a brief analysis of the music of Edwin Starr and more notably, Marvin Gaye. In the latter analysis, the author echoes Werner’s assertion that black people shared a sense that music could make the world ‘new’ and further proposes that Gaye’s recording of ‘What’s Goin’ On’ declares that ‘spiritual love would solve the problems of the world’ (106). However, it is interesting to note that of the songs listed in Andresen’s discography, only fifteen songs are included in this chapter whereas other chapters are afforded between thirty-two and fifty-three songs included for analysis. In his recollections however, he does note the significant difficulties experienced in obtaining the music of black artists as a result of the proliferation of these songs being covered instead by white artists. He also recognises that radio censorship further prevented the songs of black artists from

achieving cross-over status, which allowed these songs to feature on the *Billboard* Hot 100 Charts. The chapters analysing protest and patriotism are far more comprehensive than the chapter which examines black identity which perhaps also indicates the lack of accessibility to the music of black artists.

The chapter discussing the music of protest also notes that the majority of protest songs released during the late sixties were recorded by white artists and where black artists attempted to release the same songs, they experienced less commercial success. Andresen compares Moms Mabley's and Dion's recording of 'Abraham, Martin and John' to illustrate how the race of the artist would determine the success of the song.[13] In his following chapter, where patriotism is discussed, Andresen notes that the common thread of pro-war songs released during this period appeared to promote the message that America was fighting for the freedom of those who were oppressed by communist regimes. This fear of communism is undoubtedly a remnant of the 1950s era of McCarthyism. It is interesting to note that pro-war music appears to focus on what America is not (oppressive, communist) rather than those qualities that reinforce the mythology of the American Dream. Whilst Andresen attempts to make the claim that popular music of the sixties was representative of the voice of the people, it would have been interesting to view this through the lens of censorship; deciding what is played and who has access to this music may have illuminated the debate further before attempting to determine whether the music of this decade was truly reflective or representative of the people. This prompts a discussion of authenticity and appropriation, particularly given that popular music of this era reflects a vast array of intercultural influences. There is a degree of danger in asserting that music claims to speak for all people and it is therefore necessary to analyse the complex nature of how music is both created and received.

[13] Moms Mabley is an African-American artist whose success was dwarfed by Dion – a white, mainstream artist.

This is a theme explored in Simon Frith's chapter entitled 'Music and Identity' in *Questions of Cultural Identity* (Ed. Hall and du Gay, 1996). He asserts that the academic study of popular music is somewhat limited by assuming that it must 'reflect' or 'represent' the people. Instead, Frith argues that music has a life of its own and therefore reverses the argument; performance producing rather than reflecting the people. He embellishes further by arguing that only through the experience of performance can we make sense of music, 'by taking on both a subjective and collective identity' (109). As further explored in the methodology section, identity is mobile and Frith outlines that it comes from the outside rather than being an internal fixture. Therefore, he considers both music and identity to be a process, something that is mobile. This argument could certainly be applied to the performative nature of the musical, *Hair.* The action of performing identities and utopian values in the musical creates, in turn, a reaction. *Hair* not only represents but also creates and produces identity through dealing with, and responding to, the experience of performance. Frith's argument places importance on the aesthetic response to an appreciation of music and this process of musical identification in turn creates what he refers to as an 'ethical agreement' (114). This ethical agreement can only take place as a result of the initial aesthetic judgement and Frith presents clarity in this respect by outlining that social groups do not agree on values which are then subsequently expressed through cultural activities, but instead understand themselves and each other through cultural activity and the resulting aesthetic judgement that takes place. Understanding how culture reflects and shapes values is key to analysing and evaluating the impact of *Hair* and this approach is explored further in the following section outlining my methodology.

Methodology

This section will outline the various frameworks utilised throughout this thesis. Given the multi-faceted nature of the musical, I will be adopting an inter-disciplinary approach. In doing so, I hope to illuminate the various ways in which a

musical can be read and the frameworks required to support the analysis undertaken. The thesis draws on cultural studies, performance studies, and musicology to support my consideration of identity politics in Hair, the development of the musical theatre genre, and the cultural and historical moment in which Hair was created.

Cultural Studies

Central to my project will be an exploration of the performance and representation of marginal identities. Therefore, it is necessary to determine the ways in which we consider identity. A thread running through counter-cultural debates[14] appears to be the notion of rebirth, reinvention and renewal, all of which suggest a process, a state of change. Both Frith and Hall (discussed in further detail later) suggest that identity is fluid, mobile and is created through a series of performing, interacting with and responding to cultural activities. Identities, or rather representations of identity, are generally constructed through difference. Such representations are created as a result of exclusion, through the relationship of self to Other and are constructed 'across a lack, [..] a division.' (Hall, 1996:6). However, this position suggests that identity is best understood in binary terms; one identity must always be separate and distinct from another. If we understand identity as being a fluid process then the emphasis is placed on the 'multiplicity of identities and differences rather than on a singular identity and on the connections or articulations between the fragments or differences.' (Grossberg in Hall, 1996:89). Grossberg suggests that the key to understanding such multiple identities and differences is through questioning how identities are produced through 'practices of representation' (90).[15]

[14] The counter-cultural nature of the sixties demands a methodological framework with an emphasis on cultural studies and therefore a post-structual (as opposed to an Austenian) approach to performativity is perhaps more appropriate. The links between cultural studies and performativity will be further questioned in chapter two.

[15] Here, Grossberg is suggesting performances/practices of representation enact something that becomes performative and has greater meaning; creating, reinforcing and communicating identities in society.

Stuart Hall proposes two ways of considering cultural identity; the first is through a consideration of one, shared culture which provides 'stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning.' (Hall in Rutherford, 1990:223). By examining this notion within the framework of American cultural identity it becomes apparent that the dominant groups within American society have striven to create a shared hegemonic culture through the use of myth. Here, the myth functions to assert a dominant framework, claiming to encompass all Americans. However, Hall's second proposal is one that seems to summarise the shifting nature of identity and also to echo the idea which lies at the heart of the discourse that constructs 'America'. In proposing that although there are points of similarity that suggest a common shared culture, he asserts that there are significant differences which must also be acknowledged and his words can equally be applied to the notions of rebirth and reinvention that are central to American mythology:

> Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. […] But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power.
>
> (1990:225)

This idea of something which is mobile and in motion lends itself to post-structuralist[16] methods of analysis and this forms the lens through which I will be interrogating and analysing *Hair.* Post-structuralism rejects the understanding that there are underlying structures upon which meaning can be determined and fixed. Roland Barthes asserts that meaning is unstable and that a text should be considered as inseparable from the active process of its many readings. This method suggests there is no single authorial intention to be gleaned from any

[16] A post-structural framework is the best methodology to apply when analysing marginal identities and counter-cultural discourse in the sixties. This point in history marks the moment when one group is claiming and marking identity, whilst other cultural groups are asserting their identity is in flux. This will be dealt with extensively in chapter two.

reading of a text, instead suggesting that it can only be read through a consideration of the multi-dimensional spaces in which it is created, produced and received: 'a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation' (1977: 148). This intertextual method of reading the text appears to be an ideal model to utilise when approaching the analysis of musical theatre. It echoes the central tenets of critical/new musicology which also suggest that the text (read: music) is best comprehended through an understanding of the contextual processes which produce and inform its creation, and the subsequent reception of the text.

Hawkins proposes in his 2002 book *Settling the Pop Score,* that the two main issues facing the critical popular musicologist are interpreting the links between music and identity within a defined space and time and subsequently decoding the features of music in relationship to socially constructed forms of identity. Hawkins' statement arises from the debate that many musicologists have outlined; popular music does not lend itself easily to the traditional form of Schenkerian analysis, and the genre calls for a new approach to musicological analysis. The work of critical musicologists also provides a suitable framework for analysing the musical theatre score; this form of analysis allows the text (score) to be scrutinised in conjunction with the context (social or dramatic), whilst also taking into account its reception. It has been identified that the sixties signalled the start of an era in which America appeared to be in flux; a time in which marginal voices were beginning to be heard and identities were both questioned and explored. The 'text' can be considered as 'a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture' (Barthes, 1977: 146) and both the production and reception of performance should be considered in such terms. As identified in the literature review, a number of authors have considered music and musical theatre in binary terms, often failing to recognise that work of this nature is influenced by a vast array of cultures and will, in turn, be received/read in a variety of ways.

Stuart Hall builds on the work of Barthes in the chapters he contributes to the 1997 publication, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. In chapter one, he outlines his approach to representation, meaning and language, highlighting the distinctions between three different theories: reflective, intentional and constructionist with much of the chapter being devoted to examining the latter. Hall is interested in the ways in which the shared concepts and language systems used to communicate culture are governed by codes. He argues that meaning arises from our cultural, social and linguistic conventions and this in turn, means that meaning can never be finally fixed, as these conventions and their interpretations are forever in flux. Such conventions are constructed and produced through signifying practices.

Later, in chapter four, Hall further explores meaning by relating his discussion to signifying practices and representations of difference, through examining 'The Spectacle of the Other'. This resonates with my work on the musical, *Hair* and frames my analysis of considering how the spectacle also allows the Other to claim visibility. In the case of the musical, this is empowering for the Other as a result of the 'trans-coding' (270) that has taken place; the meanings that can be gleaned from the performance of stereotypes have been re-appropriated to create new meanings. In analysing the content of the musical, I will consider ways in which practices and representations of difference have been utilised to allow black performers and audiences to claim visibility through re-appropriation. This is largely done through utilising and performing stereotypes constructed by whites to denigrate blacks. Building on his earlier argument that meaning can never be finally fixed, Hall introduces the phrase 'preferred meaning'; suggesting that often two or more discourses are required to produce (and fix) the meaning. In this case, Hall builds on the work of Barthes and suggests that images alone present many possible meanings, and it is often the addition of words or text that 'fix' meaning for a particular time and context. This allows for an introduction of inter-textuality. The examples used by Hall to illustrate this are largely image-based, with the occasional addition of text. Earlier in the book, Hall recognises that

music, even though it is largely abstract in nature, is still linguistic and therefore signifiers within the music can still be denoted and connoted. The suggestion of inter-textuality as a way in which representational practices can be read and understood can be applied to music and the field of new/critical musicology. Whilst Hall does not use music as an example throughout the book, the tenet of his argument forms the basis for analysing music in relation to other linguistic codes and conventions and inter-textuality, a useful model to utilise when approaching the analysis of musical theatre.

In the same publication, Hall also examines the use of stereotypes. This representational practice, he argues, is rooted in binary oppositions and attempts to fix difference, securing it forever. In examining stereotypes, Hall draws upon the work of Donald Bogle and his analysis of black representation in American film. This discussion is worth examining in further detail because much of Hall's writing is presented from his locus as a British black male and here he has chosen to include analysis of an American popular art form. Bogle identifies five main stereotypes; Toms (the good Negroes), Coons (the slapstick entertainers), the Tragic Mulatto, the Mammy and the Bad Bucks (physically strong and 'full of black rage').

In further examining the use of stereotypes, Hall identifies four additional aspects of such a practice; constructing Otherness, power, fantasy and fetishism. These categories are useful to employ in an analysis of *Hair.* Through analysing the construction of Otherness, I will then determine how stereotypes are employed and re-appropriated in order for African-American performers and audiences to gain power through reclaiming their own history. Hall highlights that in the third category, representation works on two different levels; the overt and the supressed level, and even when black culture appears to challenge a stereotype, it is trapped by the intrinsic binary structures that result in only confirming the unconscious, suppressed fantasy. When this fantasy intervenes in representation then the result is fetishism; 'what is declared to be different, primitive, is at the same time being obsessively enjoyed and lingered over *because* it is strange,

different, exotic' (268). However, it is worth looking beyond this binary structure when considering the performance of stereotypes in musical theatre. The intertextuality of the genre means that there are additional signifiers that can be read in order to determine meaning. The final section of the chapter deals with contesting a racialised regime of representation and Hall notes that the civil rights movement of the sixties brought with it 'a much more aggressive affirmation of black cultural identity, a positive attitude towards difference and a struggle over representation' (270).

Paul Gilroy expands the intertextual debate in his chapter on 'Black music and the politics of authenticity', in the book *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) by making the startling and somewhat contentious point that 'European romanticism and cultural nationalism contributed directly to the development of modern black nationalism' (97). This is contentious as Afrocentric debates often negate the influence of European traditions in the development of modern black culture. Tracing this relationship back to the impact of European theories of nationhood, culture and civilisation on African-American intellectuals in the nineteenth century, Gilroy highlights that there is an 'evident appetite' to identify sameness and symmetry from the discourse of the oppressor. This suggests that although black music owes much to its undeniable roots in slavery and the Negro spiritual, it must also recognise that it has been constructed as a result of this discourse, drawing influence from both Europe and America. In proposing a 'black Atlantic culture' to assert that cultural products stemming from this relationship transcend nationality or ethnicity, Gilroy recognises that the 'unashamedly hybrid character of these black Atlantic cultures continually confounds any simplistic (essentialist or anti-essentialist) understanding of the relationship between racial identity and racial non-identity' (99). Furthermore, in discussing the debate surrounding the marketing of black cultural forms to white audiences, Gilroy argues that focusing on authenticity and artifice is 'not helpful when trying to evaluate or compare cultural forms let alone in trying to make sense of their mutation', instead asserting that music can be used as a model to

break this 'deadlock' (99). This argument is particularly poignant when discussing the music of *Hair*, as it supports the apparent intercultural exchange heard in much of MacDermot's music and is generally reflective of the unstable nature of both music and identity that was experienced throughout the sixties.

Gilroy draws on the work of the African-American literary critic, Houston A. Baker Jr to illustrate how the analogy of family is used to understand the meaning of race. Situating the debate in the work of Baker, Gilroy highlights that the trope of the family has been used as a means to interpret black cultural production; Baker proposes that in terms of Afro-America, the history of the family, regardless of how it may be distorted, amended or revised, begins in the 'economics of slavery', and that the results of cultural production can never be understood outside this family. The basis of social organisation in the economics of slavery was the family; plantation owners encouraged the stability of the family unit to ensure economic prosperity, thus securing more workers on his land. The analogy of the family is interesting; the ensemble of the musical *Hair* are referred to in the familial term of 'the Tribe' and from the outset this connotes community. Cast member accounts of being in the original Broadway production indicate that there was a degree of artificiality amongst the cast and that regardless of efforts to maintain a familial code amongst the ensemble, the internal politics between the cast meant that off-stage, they often found themselves separated into two families (based on race). Gilroy links this mentality of the black family to the animation of Black Nationalism in the sixties. However, he recognises that in modern society, this argument brings with it a new set of problems; firstly, that of the subordination of female members of the 'family'. This raises interesting questions when attempting to analyse the female roles within the tribe of *Hair* and is particularly relevant when approaching an analysis of the 1979 film version of the musical. In this later version, the subordination of the black female within the family unit is evident. Gilroy expands his argument regarding black culture and the trope of kinship in later work. Arguing that the family is the site where ethnicity and racial culture is produced and reproduced, he acknowledges that this is embedded in patriarchal

values and the woman is considered the agent and means of this process. He questions the use of the family trope in contemporary black culture, recognising that it poses a number of problems; not least those that repudiate the 'gains of black feminism' and create an over-reliance on fixed gender roles. Gilroy recognises that the prominence of family in black social and political life is linked inextricably with representations of black masculinity.

The second problem highlighted by Gilroy is the diversity of the forms of black culture produced from the diaspora, and he states that where 'African-American forms are borrowed and set to work in new locations they have often been deliberately reconstructed in novel patterns that do not respect their originators' proprietary claims' (98). Essentially hybrid in nature, the character of black Atlantic cultures is such that it does not lend itself to a simplistic understanding of the relationship between authenticity and betrayal. This indicates that there should be a careful consideration of the African-American forms utilised throughout *Hair.* Such forms cannot be considered in simplistic terms and it will be necessary to attempt to identify those elements that are authentic, borrowed and re-appropriated. In his later work (*Small Acts: Thoughts on the Politics of Black Cultures),* Gilroy supplements the term 'diaspora' with 'Black Atlantic exchanges' to allow for highlighting the 'in-between and the intercultural' (1993: 208). He asserts that contemporary Africa appears nowhere in a debate about racial authenticity and therefore suggests that the debate is now more 'Americocentric' than 'Afrocentric', the former being based mainly on imagined ideas of African forms and codes. This allows Gilroy to consider other connections that form part of the discourse of black politics, rather than focusing on an Afrocentric approach that points westwards.

Gilroy's work offers a useful method to scrutinise imagined stage representations of culture by considering that they function in much the same way as racial community itself. Gilroy suggests that the family trope is utopian in nature and is used as a means to 'signify connectedness'. Parallels can be drawn between this idea and the discourse that constructs America. It appears to function in the same

manner as the mythological ideals upon which the nation was built. Gilroy reserves a full exploration of the relationship between the ideal, imaginary black family and representations of blackness for his final chapter.

Entitled 'Not a Story to Pass on: Living Memory and the Slave Sublime', Gilroy's final chapter examines the role of tradition in black political discourse. He argues that the narratives of loss and exile 'direct the consciousness of the group back to significant, nodal points in its common history and social memory' (198) and draws parallels between this and elements of musical performance. Such moments, Gilroy asserts, can not only invent and maintain identity but also serve to renew identity.[17] Although Gilroy offers no direct examples linking this to a specific moment in musical culture, he refers to the telling and retelling of such stories as 'the living memory of the changing same' (198) and highlights how music-making and storytelling have contributed to 'autobiographical self-dramatisation and public self-construction' (200).

Musicology

Gilroy relates many of his arguments to hip-hop music, noting that the trope of the family is debated and questioned through the lyrics and performances of artists of this genre.[18] Whilst this argument is not entirely relevant to a study of *Hair*, there are interesting questions to be considered, particularly in terms of the family units that are implied within the 'Tribe' and the tribe itself as a family. Somewhat hopefully, Gilroy offers other possibilities for symbols of political agency in black culture, and it is at this point that he reintroduces the notion of utopia and worldly redemption. Suggesting that this is one of the key features of the traditions of musical performance (specifically culminating in hip-hop), Gilroy brands this as the 'ethics of antiphony' (207). This is an interesting term as it immediately connects one of the key features of indigenous African (and

[17] This argument is particularly helpful in supporting my observations made about the song 'Abie Baby' in *Hair.*

[18] For example; '2 Live Crew', 'X Clan', 'Compton's Most Wanted', 'A Tribe Called Quest' and 'De La Soul'.

subsequently, African-American) music, creating a binary by highlighting the relationship between performer and audience.

Antiphony and other features of African-American music are analysed in Olly Wilson's 1999 essay, published in *Signifyin(g), Sanctifyin' and Slam Dunking: A Reader in African-American Expressive Culture*. A single chapter from this comprehensive survey of African-American expressive arts is included because the framework provided by Wilson is highly appropriate for analysing popular music of the twentieth century, specifically music that has been produced by African-American artists and writers. It is a useful mechanism to employ when examining the compositional style of MacDermot. This chapter elucidates the intercultural exchange that has taken place in the formation of twentieth century popular music. Understanding this in terms of an intercultural exchange is far more useful than considering the development of popular music within the framework of the multicultural notion of the 'Melting Pot' because it allows for an interrogation of a dialogue between cultures, rather than reinforcing the hegemonic language implied in the use of the melting pot term.

In the same manner as Gilroy, Wilson recognises that African-American music exists within a larger, multicultural social context and has therefore influenced, and been influenced by non-black musical traditions. Although he does not specifically refer (in the same bold language used by Gilroy) to these non-black traditions as exclusively European, the inference is certainly present. He proposes that this form of music is heterogeneous because it is composed of diverse elements but it could also be a reference to the sociological use of the word, which suggests that it includes different ethnic and cultural elements. Wilson's argument focuses more on the former point and he expands his discussion by attempting to describe the specific essence of the qualities of African-American music that appear to have been fostered without European influence. His argument often fails to recognise the European traditions that have influenced the development of the genre and the examples and analysis provided tend to

focus more on how music has developed from African roots that were transplanted to American soil via the plantation.

Wilson's sound ideal is a useful method to employ when analysing the music of *Hair* as he offers a clear framework which covers a number of musical elements. His observations are inextricably linked to the history of African music transplanted to American soil and he traces contemporary music back to these roots. His method will be useful in determining those elements of the score which indicate MacDermot has been influenced by African-American musical forms. Wilson proposes that the sound ideal is reflected in both the texture (the use of contrasting instruments) and the timbre of the music (a myriad of vocal sounds, or the use of metallic or percussive instruments to provide contrast.) He traces these developments back to the colonial period, noting that the fiddle, tambourine, banjo, drums and vocal hollers and cries were all used in music created on the plantation. Twentieth century African-American music (particularly vocal music) is a realisation of the heterogeneous sound ideal that was born out of, and fostered in slavery.

Wilson asserts that 'Africanness' in music is not merely a static body, but a conceptual approach, and highlights several common elements apparent in African-American music:

1. Rhythmic contrasts and clashes, disagreements of accents, cross rhythms and metrical ambiguity.
2. Percussive singing or playing styles
3. Antiphonal, responsorial (echoing Gilroy's work and again, highlighting the binary relationship between performer and audience)[19]
4. Dense musical texture

[19] The antiphonal relationship between performer and audience/performer and other performers in interesting. Furthermore, once an audience participates in this manner they themselves become performers which solidifies Wilson's assertion that the music-making process is participatory and all-important.

5. Incorporation of physical body motion as an integral part of the music-making process.

The author highlights how gospel, jazz and blues music work towards an ultimate goal, which, when it is reached, demands a spontaneous response from the audience. Wilson asserts that this moment functions as a 'collective catharsis' and reinforces 'a sense of cultural solidarity' (169). As in Gilroy's work, Wilson has placed importance upon the relationship between the performer and the audience and how music functions in an antiphonal way; the call of the music demands a response from those who hear it.

Wilson then turns to Aretha Franklin to illustrate how the sound ideal is embodied in powerful and expressive ways. He notes the distinctive timbre of Franklin's voice and highlights her 'musical sensitivity and use of timbral nuances in expressively powerful ways at precisely the right moment' (169). It is interesting to note that Laurie Stras in her introduction to the book *She's So Fine: Reflections on Whiteness, Femininity, Adolescence and Class in 1960s Music,* uses the music of Aretha Franklin to make a similar point, but from a feminist standpoint, proposing that the popularity of such singers allowed 'young African-American women […] to be socially visible for the first time' (2011:8). Both arguments are particularly relevant to my analysis of *Hair.*[20] Wilson proposes that Franklin embodies the heterogeneous sound ideal, whilst Stras proposes that she is a feminist icon. Both strands of the argument are relevant when developing an argument as to why the black female voice in *Hair* is used so deliberately.

Performance Studies

I intend to utilise the methodological frameworks mentioned above to argue that the representations of race and gender presented in the musical *Hair* form the first two stages of the Rites of Passage. Arnold Van Gennep's framework for

[20] The black female voice is employed in specific moments throughout the score; whether this be to illustrate the dichotomy of culture or gender. Moreover, the 2009 revival of the show features a female member of the tribe performing a representation of this iconic black vocalist, which seems to suggest a celebration of Franklin's status as a popular icon and of the black female voice.

analysing ceremonies and rituals that accompany the individual's life cycle, written in 1908, identifies three major stages of such ceremonies; separation, transition and incorporation.[21] Although Van Gennep's work applied primarily to rituals and ceremonies, his theory has since been developed and can be more widely applied to other cultural 'life crises'. In his chapter, 'The Classification of Rites', Van Gennep asserts that society contains within it several distinctly separate social groupings and these groups all break down into smaller societies or subgroups. Movement between such groups is marked by the three stages. It should be noted that these three stages do not just refer to movement from one ascribed status to another, but also incorporate entry into a 'new achieved status' (Turner, 1964:47). Van Gennep's framework applies to sociological structures and can be applied to cultural discourse of the sixties. It has already been established that the counter-culture sought to remove itself from the dominant, parental culture and in doing so, it has entered the second, transitional phase.[22] This is the phase in which the subject is in-between two states and is the moment at which limitless possibilities can be considered.

Victor Turner's considerable work in developing Van Genneps' *Rites de Passage* (particularly with Richard Schechner during the sixties) develops his investigation of the liminal phase to include a discussion of the liminoid. He proposes that the liminal phase has a framework of reference. More often than not, this framework abides by 'rules underlying the generation of cultural patterns [which] tend to seek out the binary.' As the liminal phase lies in-between states, the reference points of either state tends to revert back to 'forms suggested by simple "natural" oppositions' (1982:29). In clarifying the differences between liminal and liminoid, Turner proposes that the latter develops in the margins, often as social critiques which manifest in the form of art works (e.g. plays, films, paintings), which expose

[21] Gennep labelled the three stages *schéma* of *rites de passage*. The term schéma has usually been translated as 'pattern', but the intended usage of the term appears to imply 'dynamics, process and structure'.

[22] The term assigned to this second stage has been debated by Turner (1964). He builds on the original French term (marge) to assign the label 'margin' to this middle stage, developing his argument to include the term 'liminal'.

'the injustices, inefficiencies, and immoralities of the mainstream economic and political structures and organizations' (55). Through working with Richard Schechner, Turner merges anthropology and theatre to explore the convergence between social drama and aesthetic drama. As these concepts are highly relevant to the sixties in America it is worth outlining them in detail here.

Turner asserts that there are four stages that occur in social drama. The first, which initiates all subsequent stages is that of an interruption or 'breach' of the 'regular, norm-governed social life'. This can otherwise be understood as the relationship between performativity and performance, in which the latter interrupts the process of the former. As previously mentioned, performance is concerned with fixing something in the moment and this action can confront and disrupt normative performative behaviours. This subsequently leads to a crisis which threatens to split the community into 'contending factions and coalitions'; this is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the emergence of the counter-culture. A period of redress is then initiated, during which stage those in authority seek to initiate action, which attempts to reintroduce control and order.[23] Finally, alternative solutions are sought, which may involve reconciliation or 'consensual recognition of irremediable breach.' Turner believes that the social dramas 'induce and contain reflexive processes and generate cultural frames in which reflexivity can find a legitimate place' (1982:92) and then proposes that all genres of cultural performance – meaning events which occur in everyday life which attain and reinforce cultural value - are present in the third phase: redress. At this point the links to artistic performance and experimental theatre of the sixties start to materialise. He argues that the redressive response may well emerge from groups who desire to restructure or re-order the normative social order; 'reformative to revolutionary' (109), the 'performer' has the ability to interrupt and disrupt the narrative content, and because 'heterogeneous societies are more porous in their absorption of ideas, the play does not stay circumscribed within its

[23] Turner offers pertinent examples of how such control measures are enforced, including legal or military action.

event but colors and motivates the rest of our lives' (Senelick, 1992: xii). Cultural performance has an impact on society and its normative processes, but these processes can be challenged and destabilised through artistic performance.

I will use this framework to argue that the second stage (crisis) is key to understanding the utopian values communicated in *Hair.* The scenes which focus on such moments are, in themselves, structured in the *schéma* of *rites de passage.* Representations of marginal identities are presented often in stereotypical form in order to highlight the separation period. These stereotypes are then used as either spectacle or are re-appropriated in powerful ways which allow for a consideration of a better world that may present itself once the incorporation/aggregation stage has been reached. It is in such moments that the utopianism of *Hair* is recognised. This thesis will draw together these various methodological strands to illuminate how *Hair* embodies and performs notions of resistance and rebellion. Surveying this musical in its socio-historical context will identify how *Hair* reflects the society from which it was created, but also suggests ways in which society may be better.

Chapter 1: *Hair* and National Identity

The sixties in American history was a time of political turmoil. The images which remain of that decade 'still haunt us, still anger us, still entrance us, still puzzle us' (Farber, 1994: 3). In the post-war era of prosperity Americans came to question the values that had been constructed and promoted as comprising its national identity; values which, for many decades, were central to the 'American Dream'. Those values, however, claimed to speak only for those who benefitted from the racial and gendered hierarchies long-established in the American grand narrative and disseminated in popular culture. Indeed, for many, these hierarchies also resulted in the actual lived experience of injustice and segregation. Homi Bhabha urges for an 'understanding of the performativity of languages in the narrative of a nation' (1990: 3), that is, as Holdsworth helpfully summarises, 'the way a nation sees itself and projects itself to others is tied up in the narratives a nation tells about itself' (2010: 1). This chapter will explore the narratives that America has constructed in forming a national identity and will do so through examining the kinds of stories told in musical theatre and the means through which they are communicated. More importantly, it will examine the socio-political context of *Hair* in addition to the form, structure, and content of the musical itself thus recognising *Hair*'s place in musical theatre history. In doing so, I will argue that *Hair* stemmed directly from the politics of the sixties, embodying fragmentation and subversion in the art form of the musical. I will endeavour to identify the very specific ways in which 'theatre is deeply implicated in constructing the nation through the imaginative realm' (Holdsworth, 2010: 6), but can also be reflective of the fractured and fragmented society from which it is produced.

The nation – as Anderson proposes – is 'always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'; he suggests that it is this inherent 'fraternity' and equality (regardless of whether that is actually the case) that creates devotion to the nation-state (2006: 7). Indeed, the Declaration of Independence itself confirms that 'all men are created equal' and that the colonies declaring independence from the British crown are 'united'. Huntington asserts that American national

identity is comprised of two parts; that America is a nation of immigrants and that there is a liberal, democratic creed that outlines a set of political principles whose function is to 'unify the diverse ethnicities produced by immigration' (2005: 37). In order to justify its independence America had to define itself ideologically and its grand narratives were often focused on unification or reconciliation, nowhere better exemplified than in its motto; 'E Pluribus Unum' (Out of many, one). Anthony D. Smith argues that the language and symbolism of a nation relate to and communicate the doctrine or ideology of the nation (2001: 5). His approach to national and cultural identity – ethnosymbolism – relies on a 'sense of continuity' or 'cultural affinity with a remote past in which a community was formed, a community that despite all the changes it has undergone, is still in some sense recognized as the "same" community' (1991: 33). Values, traditions and symbols, such as cultural products (theatre, art, music, fiction) are key aspects in creating and sustaining a shared cultural identity.

As Holdsworth argues, theatre 'speaks most potently to the historical moment of its inception' (2010: 8) and by examining and exploring the language and symbolism used in theatre it is possible to discern something of the nation's ideologies. By the mid-twentieth century, driven by a Cold War protectionist mentality, America seemed concerned with reinforcing its ideological narratives through the notion of 'looking back'. As a result, musical theatre similarly communicated unification through the lens of nostalgia, perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the work of Rodgers and Hammerstein. Both Cantu (2014) and Rugg (2002) argue that nostalgia is an integral mode of musical theatre and Stuart Hecht moves this proposition one step further by asserting that the conservative nostalgia of musicals also has the propensity, somewhat paradoxically, to 'influence social change'; 'because [the musical] usually shunned controversy, when a Broadway show did include controversial subject matter, that subject tended to find more ready acceptance' (2011: 6). However, by the early sixties, the American musical stage's fascination with nostalgia seemed out-of-step with a country where nearly half of its population (over 90 million inhabitants) were

under the age of 25 and it was this demographic that began to assess the world they had inherited. Their concerns are perhaps best elucidated in the Port Huron Statement of June 1962, authored by the Students for Democratic Society. It began; 'we are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit' and continued:

> we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration "all men are created equal..." rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo. [. . .] Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people".
>
> (1962)

Indeed, the final statement of this passage could equally refer to the state of the musical as it could the state of the nation. The musical itself rested in 'national stalemate', 'tradition-bound', perhaps synonymous with the fact that on Broadway the average age of the theatre-goer continued to rise and the American musical 'became theater for a complacent, Eisenhower America' (Gottfried in Wollman, 2006: 13). Haliwell notes that 'Broadway became the victim of cold war conservatism and grew more cautious in its cultural diet [and] safe options were often taken, most prominently with musicals' (2007: 85). The advent of the decade promised renewed hope and movement for America. Indeed, Kennedy's inaugural address reiterated the same sentiments (although again, looking back): 'We observe today [. . .] a celebration of freedom – symbolizing an end as well as a beginning – signifying renewal as well as change' (1961). However, the musical did little to reflect the same message. The first few years of the sixties saw the following musicals open on Broadway; *Camelot* (1960) *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), *Hello Dolly* (1964), and *Half a Sixpence* (1965), all of which are set in an earlier time, rely heavily on some form of nostalgia to support their storyline, and

provide an element of escapism; 'transporting the audience into other times and places, where heightened emotions reign and social conflicts can be resolved through the transcendent power of love' (Haliwell, 2007: 100). This was perhaps necessary in such an era where the brutalities of war became the defining concern of a nation[24] and its inhabitants, but 'looking back' was an established theme in American history, reinforced in the language of its Presidents. Campbell and Kean note that a number of Presidential addresses repeat the language of the past and seek to apply it to the present, and such mythology 'appears simple and uncomplicated for it functions by assumption [. . .] we *assume* its values for they seem to be natural, to belong' (2012: 34). As previously discussed, myth is 'depoliticizing' in that it seeks to simplify the political complications of human relations. Such simplification adds clarity and furthermore, ensures continuity; 'shared ancestry, myths, histories and cultures [provide] a sense of solidarity' (Smith, 1986: 32). By employing nostalgia in their addresses, those elected to the highest office in the United States provided reminders of their unique culture and, as Smith further notes, common myths and historical memories are key attributes in establishing and maintaining a sense of national identity (1991: 14).

This mythological device attempts to speak for all; 'it serves to remind Americans of "their" individual and collective dreams' (35), thus reinforcing a collective identity. As Holdsworth concurs, 'national identity, then, is the meeting point between the individual and the collective conception of the nation, but crucially both are variable' (2010: 21). What is undoubtedly lost in adopting this approach is the individual conception of the nation and, as Holdsworth expands, there is an assumption in such an approach that 'people openly embrace other social identities based on differences of class, race and sexuality within the catchall of the nation – which is often very far from the case' (20). Essentially, how America – and the American musical stage – dealt with its Others can illuminate a great deal

[24] America's 'wars' during this period included; World War II (1939-1945), The Korean War (1950-1953), and the Cold War (which began with the Truman Doctrine in 1947).

about the nation's politics and the ways in which those Others may challenge the dominant national mythology.

As seen in productions of the first half of the twentieth century, the musical dealt with its Others in very specific ways which eradicated the voices of those on the margins of American society. *Oklahoma!* (1943) uses its 'Other' principal characters to also reinforce the mythology of a harmonious union; those who do not subscribe to the principles upon which the state is founded are marginalised and ultimately shunned from the community. *Oklahoma!*'s narrative reinforces the mythology of an America that claims to speak for all, but actually only serves the interest of those who shape its structural systems. The territory of Oklahoma, soon to become a state, signifies America; those who subscribe to the values of living in this new society will be accepted and reap the benefits of the land, whilst those who refuse to tame the reckless, egotistical side of their nature (the ID), and live without morals are cast aside. This is most clearly elucidated in the characters of Jud Fry and Ali Hakim, who are not only shown to be without morals in their dialogue but are also given different musical language through which they communicate their marginalised status. How 'different' this language actually is, requires further scrutiny and thought. It is only when contrasted with the musical language of the other characters that the difference is revealed. In isolation, for example, Ali Hakim's song ('It's a Scandal, It's an Outrage') communicates little, if nothing at all, of his Arabic heritage, and his musings are instead consigned to what could be categorised as a traditional musical theatre patter song. Similarly, Jud's 'Lonely Room' perhaps portrays his mental and social torment through a static and restricted melodic vocal line juxtaposed against the repeated use of a clashing interval of a second. His music briefly appears in stark contrast to other characters, but the bridge of his song resorts to the same devices as perhaps a grand aria and more closely mirrors the spacious, soaring melodies assigned to the lead character, Curly. Furthermore, *Oklahoma!* expunged Native Americans from the story; the source material for the musical (*Green Grow the Lilacs)* was written by Lynn Riggs, who was of Cherokee descent and, as Knapp observes,

'many of the characters [in the play] claim Indian heritage and defiantly assert their separateness from the United States' (2005: 125). These characters are erased from the storyline of the musical.

Most (2004) argues that through their musicals, Rodgers and Hammerstein 'constructed a new idea of what America should be – an idea that entailed openness to ethnic outsiders' (107), whilst at the same time failing to portray ethnic assimilation accurately on-stage. Their 'whitewashed' work, whilst advancing the development of the musical as an art form, also served to reinforce the political grand narrative, claiming to speak for all. Whilst musicals are often denigrated for their lack of relevance to politics and society,[25] McMillin proposes that 'Rodgers and Hammerstein [. . .] were setting in motion a further history of the genre in which social and political issues would come to be prominent even in the mainstream' (2006: 14). Such social and political issues continued to be explored but were often treated in a similar fashion; gender, race, and ethnicity continued to be exaggerated markers of Otherness and used for no other purpose than to illustrate difference. For example, *West Side Story* (1957) places masculine aggression and pride at the heart of the narrative, relegating the Puerto Rican gang into a position of Otherness (mainly through the use of music), whilst also serving to reaffirm the subservient role of women through Maria's relationship to her father, Chino, and Tony, Anita's rape scene, and the uncomfortable exclusion of Anybody's from the Jets. Indeed, in musical theatre of the early and mid-twentieth century, the vast majority of shows served to reinforce America's dominant discourse; even when African Americans appeared on stage (*Show Boat*, 1927) they were placed in subservient roles and when women appeared to be exploring their independence, much later in the century, (*Sweet Charity*, 1966) their fascination with, and dependence on men for affirmation and validation (along with their promiscuity) was also further reinforced.

[25] For example, see Clement Greenberg (1961), Dwight MacDonald (1962), and to a certain extent, Eric Bentley (1969)

By the mid-to-late 1950s and early sixties, America was changing; its material prosperity had served only to magnify chasms and inequalities in society. In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in favour of desegregation in schools but little was done to bring this into effect[26] and the Civil Rights movement gained further momentum in 1956 when the black community in Montgomery, Alabama boycotted bus travel in a show of solidarity with Rosa Parks (who had been arrested for refusing to sit in the 'blacks only' area at the rear of the bus.) Although occurring much later in this period, the rights of both women and homosexuals were also moving more prominently into the public consciousness. The Presidential Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1961 and their final report was issued two years later. Whilst the report highlighted that there were inequalities, it was deemed that no further constitutional amendment was required in order to address these. A year later, an amendment was made to the Civil Rights Act to include the term 'sex' under employment provision but little further action was taken and, as a result, the first feminist organisation of what is now considered to be the second wave of feminism, was established (NOW – National Organisation for Women). Concurrently, Betty Friedan's work *The Feminine Mystique* was released in 1963 which spoke of a 'problem that has no name' and the expected domestication of women in a post-war era where men were reclaiming employment opportunities. In the same year that the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women was established, Martin Luther King met with John F. Kennedy, urging him to issue a second Emancipation Proclamation in an attempt to end racial segregation and inequality. Two years later, King had been arrested (and released) and led the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Gay rights organisations were established in the United States as early as 1952 (for example, ONE inc.), and in 1965 a small group of picketers assembled outside Independence Hall, Philadelphia to protest for equal rights; an action often regarded as one that 'helped to spark the gay

[26] Farber reports that in 1960 just over 99% of Southern black schoolchildren still attended state segregated schools (1994: 73)

rights movement' (Allyn, 2015). The voices of those previously considered to be marginalised in American society were becoming more prominent:

> the decade (of the 50s) was vilified in the 1960s for its conservatism, particularly by those who saw themselves as its victims: the young, black, female and gay all found collective voices to denounce a decade that had promised so much, but delivered little to those on the margins.
>
> (Halliwell, 2007: 4)

Broadway did little to respond to these urgencies in society. As mentioned above, its response instead was to deliver 'more of the same' by reverting back to telling stories concerned with an earlier time. The political focus of the country lay at odds with what was being represented on-stage. In June 1963, President Kennedy delivered a television address, in which he stated:

> The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. [. . .] Now the time has come for this Nation to fulfil its promise. [. . .]
>
> Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives. [. . .] We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and a people. [. . .] A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation, is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all. Those who do nothing are inviting shame, as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right, as well as reality.
>
> (Kennedy, 1963)

The protests highlighted by Kennedy were visible; the protestor's actions were largely peaceful but were often met with brutality. Images of civil unrest were disseminated widely due to increased ownership of televisions in households. As the personal became political, theatre, which had always been concerned with telling personal stories, had no choice but to respond. As Holdsworth argues, 'theatre often deploys its content, formal properties and aesthetic pleasures to generate a creative dialogue with tensions in the national fabric' (2010: 7). This was clearly not the case with musical theatre at the start of the sixties, but theatre in general was beginning to respond to political demonstrations and protests. In

doing so, it began to 'embrace the *other* as part of the national *us*' (Holdsworth, 2010: 8) to question not only the relationship between theatre and nation, but also the political values in America during the sixties.

As outlined by Shalson, the relationship between theatre and protest is complex. As a starting point, she proposes a consideration of Charles Tilly's understanding of protest as 'contentious performance' which involves 'public expressions of dissent against prevailing systems, [. . .which] demand change' (2017: 8). She argues that protest disrupts by the very nature of its inconvenience, in that it uses spaces which are usually reserved for the regular proceedings of everyday life, and additionally, protest can disrupt theatre's usual procedures too; challenging traditional modes, spaces and rituals. The sixties saw a convergence of theatre and protest in ways, and on a scale that America had never experienced before; a 'veritable explosion' as Shalson proposes (11). A tangible example of how these grassroots theatre companies functioned can be seen in the case of the street theatre company, The Diggers, based in San Francisco. Their 'happenings' possessed a free frame of reference, often without linear narratives or form, but with space for improvisation, and required the active participation of the 'audience'. As such, there were none of the set rules that often governed the rituals of theatre. The Diggers proposed that they were a 'theater of an underground that wants out', through the use of guerrilla theatre they intended:

> to bring audiences to liberated territory to create life-actors. It remains light and exploitative of forms for the same reasons that it intends to remain free. It seeks audiences that are created by issues. It creates a cast of freed beings. It will become an issue itself. [. . .] Its aim is to liberate ground held by consumer wardens and establish territory without walls.
>
> (1968)

The interesting point raised in this manifesto is that audiences are created by issues; it is unclear as to where the boundaries between performer and audience lie and even suggests that the audience themselves become performers ('life-actors'.) The company proposed that this wasn't street theatre but that the street

itself *is* theatre. This ambiguity of boundaries between the theatre and the streets indicates the ways in which performance became political. Indeed, as Kershaw notes, protest is simply 'performance wrestling successfully with the entropic resistance of histories shaped by dominant socio-political forces' (1999: 90).

It is worth pausing for a moment here to consider Kershaw's use of the term resistance in that the term usually refers to a refusal to accept something or a force that acts to stop the motion of something. A further connotation is that of resistance often being underground, where opposition takes the form of sabotage or guerrilla warfare (the latter term is often used in reference to theatre too). Indeed, whilst performance took to the streets in the form of protest, theatre itself resisted traditional forms and modes, but did so firmly on the margins. By the late 1950s and early sixties, the locus of these radical theatres and performances had shifted from the West coast to the East, with many 'rabid, freedom-seeking, art-loving outcasts' settling in Greenwich Village, New York (Patrick in Bottoms, 2004: 17). Subsequently, the Village lifestyle (which Bottoms refers to as 'bohemian') manifested itself in bars and cafes; communal spaces which invited music and performance poetry. Bottoms argues that these spaces:

> played an important role in the gradual blurring of disciplinary boundaries that characterized the Village arts scene [. . .] They also provided the seedbed for off-off-Broadway, as young theatermakers too began to experiment with fusing text, image, and sound into tightly focused events designed specifically for the tiny, platform stages provided by cafes.
>
> (18)

Such spaces provided a creative platform and outlet for the younger generation who perhaps had little formal training in the arts. Ironically, as the American director, Lawrence Kornfeld notes, the aims of the new underground theatre were, '…to get out from Eisenhower time. To get out from those constraints. To create a very, very American art form' (quoted in Bottoms, 2004: 35), the final comment here revealing a patriotism which is often thought to be at odds with these new forms of experimental theatre. In the comprehensive publication,

Restaging the Sixties, Harding and Rosenthal identify further links between some of the more activist theatre groups (for example, El Teatro Campesino) and those groups producing work of a political nature but who were perhaps more removed from protest in public spaces (the Open Theatre), stating that both were concerned with 'a rejection of theater's traditional deference to the authority of the literary text and a rejection of the traditional boundaries separating performers and spectators' (2006:8). It was with such principles in mind that *Hair* was created; one of its writers – Gerome Ragni – was a member of the Open Theatre. Co-founder and director, Joseph Chaikin helped establish the group in 1963, and in his previous work with the Living Theatre, he had 'grappled with questions about the direct connections between actors and characters, and actors and audiences' (ibid. 75). The principles of the group were based on investigating the acting process, a commitment to activism, collective creativity, and ensemble-building. The influence of such working methods can be seen in the genesis of *Hair*; predominantly basing their work on the experiences and concerns of drop-outs living in the East Village, Gerome Ragni and James Rado developed the content of *Hair* based on these lived experiences. Previously, musicals (and other works) of the twentieth century had relied on realist acting to communicate a storyline, that is, the audience witnesses a play-long identification with characters in their roles. Situations emulated everyday life, there were natural connectives between scenes which created continuity and a form of symbolic reality. Although it can be argued that musicals, by the very nature of breaking into song defy these realist conventions, their narratives still largely relied on these traditional methods to communicate its dramatic arc. Such conventions were removed in experimental theatre of the sixties with a shift towards presenting sets of quick-changing realities, units (or scenes) which were not interrelated, and the cessation of the play-long identification with a single, given role. Furthermore, there was an 'emphasis on improvisation, transformations, sound and movement, non-verbal modes, and a collage-like, nonlinear structure of images' (Babb in Harding and Rosenthal, 2006: 122). The following discussion will endeavour to outline the ways

in which *Hair* rejected the traditional practices of the Broadway stage and instead embodied the techniques and practices of experimental theatre.

Hair: Structure and Content

Rado and Ragni's work was largely based on observing the lived experience of the young who inhabited the East Village in New York but also featured elements that were semi-autobiographical. Rado asserts that he and Ragni were 'great friends' and that they wanted to 'put the drama between us on stage' (Rose, 2008); both writers featured in the cast playing Claude and Berger respectively. The central narrative of the musical concerns Claude's indecision regarding his draft into the Vietnam War. Opposition to America's involvement in this war began quietly, mainly on college campuses, but by 1965 had gained national prominence, largely due to the more aggressive activity taken by America in North Vietnam. Ragni also appeared in the cast of *Viet Rock*, written by Megan Terry, developed and staged by the Open Theatre. Terry states she 'used material that bombarded us every day from television and newspapers. We acted out personal stories' (1967: 21). She instructed directors of the work to post phrases and slogans around the theatre, phrases which included 'Vietnam hangs over your head', 'Non-White', 'I'm too young', and 'Peacekeeper of the World' (23-25). Although only 25% of the total force count constituted draftees, being drafted remained a central concern of the youth culture (and was therefore communicated through the work of the Open Theatre), and protests against the war became more frequent by the middle of the decade, with at least two visible street protests per month in which young men often burned their draft cards. *Hair* takes direct inspiration from such activities; it presents Berger burning his draft card on-stage and the Tribe urge Claude to do the same. However, whilst this storyline is included in the musical, the narrative through which it is communicated cannot be described as linear. The musical seemed, as yet, unwilling to completely relinquish the linear narrative structure of the book musical and instead, appears to lie 'in-between' states, indeed, the form of the musical itself points to the liminal stage of Van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* (explored in detail in subsequent chapters.) The ambiguity of this

stage is created by the presence of the old (the book musical, linear narrative) whilst signalling something 'new', yet to be fully discovered in terms of what the musical could be. Later developments suggest that *Hair* was perhaps an early ancestor of the 'concept' musical, even though the term itself is widely-debated. John Bush-Jones (2003) prefers to refer to this sub-genre as the 'fragmented musical'; fragmented in structure whilst also managing to reflect the fragmented structure of the society producing these works (271). As Young-Gerber notes, 'Jones's focus on the symbiotic relationship of theme, structure and character is important' but similarly argues that Swain's definition of the 'frame' musical is equally helpful in trying to define the 'concept' musical as it 'establishes the significance of using situation or low-level events that never resolve in a climactic scene' (2010: 334). Whilst it is clear that *Hair* features a number of 'low-level events', the final scene is indeed, climactic; there is a resolution for Claude and a subsequent outcome for the rest of the Tribe. Although the musical itself appears to defy categorisation in terms of its structure, Jones's mention of fragmentation, coupled with the additional consideration of the fragmented society from which it derives is certainly one that is perhaps most appropriate. Not yet ready to dispense with the linear narrative, *Hair's* liminal structure experiments with form and content and appears to move the Broadway musical a step closer to 'utilizing situations unified by theme and employing the characters and songs to comment on the specific thematic issue(s)' (ibid.).

Hair's prominent use of the ensemble is also of note; historically, the ensemble in 'traditional' musicals had been employed to reinforce some of the central themes of the narrative, for example, McMillin argues the chorus is used to communicate unity and reconciliation. Building the ensemble was a fundamental tenet of the working methods of the Open Theatre and we see this further solidified in *Hair* through the centrality of the 'Tribe'. Indeed, each production of the musical (including those that toured) names its Tribe, often using original Native American Indian tribal names. The Tribe's primary purpose in the musical is to embody and communicate the principles of a collective life; on-stage for the vast majority of

the show, they feature in every key dramatic moment and many of the micro-narratives (discussed later in this chapter and extensively in subsequent chapters). Buchen remarks that *Hair* celebrates multiplicity as a new form of morality, 'and it is with the notion of the tribe that perhaps one comes upon the central social and political doctrines of the New Multiplicity' (1969: 328). He continues; 'the great crime of Civilization has been its compulsion to eliminate or blur the variety of races and their equally unique communal forms. Politically, therefore, the new tribal community defines war – all wars – as essentially racism' (329).

Although Buchen's review of the show is highly verbose, here, he has perhaps identified the inherent power in the message of *Hair*; in its central theme of 'make love, not war' the Tribe offer an example of how life can be better lived. Buchen echoes something of Anderson's notion of the imagined, horizontal community. 'Imagined' because, in reality, such a construct obscures the tensions and disparities in society:

> There are no chiefs in the tribe: or if there are, they are temporary inspirations or rallying points, but always dispensable. Because its structure is horizontal and decentralized rather than vertical and centralized, and because it is a tactile community, the tribe is composed of love-friends. [. . .] the power of the tribe lies in its connective character. Whatever worth an individual has, he has so as an extension of the tribe
>
> (329)

The tribe exemplifies how it is possible to create a collective identity based on a horizontally-structured community; rather than drawing boundaries around that circle of community so that Others reside on the margins, or even outside of that circle, the tribe is a proposition for a continuously expanding circle. Whilst in reality this may well be an impractical suggestion that some would argue erodes the very fabric of a national identity, *Hair*'s model may seem overly-simplistic but was a crucial message to a fragmented society, struggling to reconcile itself to the inequalities created by cultural hegemony.

Furthermore, *Hair*'s structure appears to also celebrate diversity by adhering to the Open Theatre's principle of employing a collage structure, i.e. 'piecing together fragments of behaviour and images of imagined conditions, linked by musical bridges and nonverbal modes'. Indeed, Babb cites the Open Theatre as being a 'pioneer' in creating performances that were nonlinear and fragmented (in Harding and Rosenthal, 2006: 118). The table below outlines how each scene and musical number functions in *Hair* (appendix C also offers this information in comparison to earlier works):

Act I

Musical Numbers	**Function/Micro-Narrative**	**Style**
Aquarius (Tribe)		
Donna (Berger)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Rock
Hashish (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Folk
Sodomy (Woof)	Non-normative sexual practices, including homosexuality	Folk
Colored Spade (Hud)	The African-American lived experience	Funk
Manchester England (Claude)	Drop-out culture	Brit-Pop
I'm Black/Ain't Got No/Dead End (Woof, Hud, Dionne)	Racial inequality and urban poverty	Hard Rock
I Believe in Love (Sheila)	Early second wave feminism	Pop
Air (Jeanie)	Pollution and the future of planet earth	Folk
Initials (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Minuet
I Got Life (Claude)	Generation gap	Rock
Going Down	Drop-out culture	Pop/Rock
Hair (Claude, Berger)	Performance of gender	Pop/Rock
My Conviction (Margaret Mead)	Performance of gender and drag	Folk (with suggestion of minuet)
Easy to be Hard (Sheila)	Social injustice	Pop ballad

Don't put it Down (Berger, Woof)	National identity/political crisis	Country and Western
Frank Mills (Crissy)		Folk (although indicated as 'gentle rock')
Be-In/Hare Krishna (Tribe)	Drug usage and spiritualism	Folk-rock (based on fast version of maha mantra)
Where do I go? (Claude/Tribe)	Generation gap/Draft into Vietnam War	Folk/Rock

Act II

Musical Numbers	**Function/Micro-narrative**	**Style**
Electric Blues (Tribe quartet)		Barbershop quartet/Rock
Black Boys (Tribe)	Miscegenation	Tequilla tempo/1950s pop
White Boys (Tribe)	Miscegenation	RnB
Walking in Space (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Folk/Slow Rock
Yes I's Finished/Abie Baby (Tribe)	Racial inequality and gender performance	Doo-wop
3-5-0-0 (Tribe)	Racial inequality and injustice of war	Slow rock/Dixieland
What a Piece of Work is Man (Tribe duo)	Injustice of war	Folk
Good Morning Starshine (Sheila/Tribe)	Peace, harmony, future of planet earth	Folk/Medium Latin Rock
Aquarius Reprise (Tribe)		
Manchester England Reprise (Claude)	Draft into Vietnam War	
Eyes Look your Last (Tribe)	Draft into Vietnam War	
The Flesh Failures (Tribe)	Military Industrial Complex and effects of the technocratic age	Rock (with funk bassline)
Let the Sunshine In (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom	

Figure 1.1

These musical scenes indeed illustrate fragments of behaviour and imagined conditions. This structure could thus be proposed as being postdramatic. However, the term must be used with caution because, as Carlson warns, it has been applied so broadly that 'anything like a coherent and consistent definition of the term has become quite impossible' (2015: 578). Helpfully, Jürs-Munby, in the introduction to her translation of Lehmann's seminal work in this field elucidates further:

> 'post' here is to be understood neither as an epochal category, nor simply as a chronological 'after' drama, a 'forgetting' of the dramatic past, but rather as a rupture and a beyond that continue to entertain relationships with drama and are in many ways an analysis and 'anamnesis' of drama.
>
> (2006: 2)

This indicates that the use of 'post' is not primarily concerned with relinquishing older, earlier methods, indeed, crucial to our understanding of the postdramatic is the acknowledgement that elements of the methods used before still remain.

The terms used above (fragment, rupture) can certainly be applied to *Hair* and its position in the development and history of musical theatre, nowhere more clearly exemplified than in the subject matter itself. Whilst it can be argued that musical theatre has always been concerned with political matters they were in general, non-contemporary, in that storylines used nostalgia to allegorise the political world. *Hair* ensured this was no longer the case; the central tenet of the narrative is the Vietnam War, but – as can be seen above and in appendix C – it was also concerned with other pressing, contemporary issues. The appendix outlines how many of the songs actually deal with the central narrative; these moments tend to occur at the end of both acts and generally, reference to Claude's draft is largely made through dialogue which surrounds these moments. The musical's fascination with the linear narrative still remains but in *Hair* the established, traditional structure of the musical is ruptured by the inclusion of micro-narratives dealing with further contemporary issues. As such, the structure of the musical mirrored the fragmented society from which it came and the climate of protest in

the country; the concerns of the counterculture were presented on the Broadway stage.

The influence of *Viet Rock* and the principles of the Open Theatre on *Hair* can also be identified in the way in which the boundaries between audience and performer were reconsidered. In *Viet Rock*, performers went into the audience, 'each chooses a spectator and touches his or her hand, head, face, and hair. [. . .] as a celebration of presence'. Joseph Chaikin believed this to be an action which expressed 'the visceral confrontation with the reality that one is living now', a confrontation between spectator and performer of the reality they share (Shank, 2002: 39). This was further reinforced by the lack of stage costume which allowed performers not to identify as specific characters. Although there is evidence that *Hair* utilised stage costume to a greater extent, the clothes worn were entirely suggestive of every day attire and it seems that where conscious costume decisions were taken, these were done to represent and reinforce some of the micro-narratives presented (these are further discussed in subsequent chapters). But *Hair* certainly experimented with the audience and theatrical space in ways which the musical had not previously employed. Buchen notes that 'the audience is never immune from incursions into its midst' and highlights the fluidity between the wings and the stage, and the performer and the audience. Interestingly, he summarises thus:

> The sense of being seen as well as seeing occurs often: more than once brilliant lights are turned on the audience scattering the clarity of our vision into prismatic points. The first part concludes with two policemen suddenly appearing to accuse the audience of watching an obscene show [. . .] and to threaten everyone with arrest. [. . .] The effect is that of a series of off-balances which are so timed that the audience can never snuggle safely into the anonymity of darkness or apartness.
>
> (1969: 326)

The use of the term 'apartness' is particularly appropriate when applied to the role of the audience in musical theatre. The proscenium arch alone forms a barrier between spectator and actor, it prevents immersion and total engagement

with the material. Here, *Hair* makes the audience complicit in its approach to social activism. Furthermore, the appearance of two policemen threatening to arrest spectators also makes them part of the protest; those who perhaps had not actively engaged in protest in the street were now being targeted in the same way as those who were. As with *Viet Rock*, the audience attending a production of *Hair* is similarly 'handled' by the performers and here, 'touch is the avenue of trust [. . .] the crucial communication' (ibid. 327). However, in making this assertion Buchen also notes that this interaction replaces words, dance and music as being the usually superior forms of 'collective involvement' and also proposes that *Hair* is 'implicit criticism of the art of musicals' (ibid.). I will argue in this thesis that *Hair* maintains the fundamental elements of musical theatre (song and dance) to amplify collective involvement. It does not relinquish or critique these essential aspects, instead it maintains something of the past, and reimagines the form of the musical to express something new, vibrant and entirely contemporary. The songs of *Hair* are central to understanding the political concerns of the era and, furthermore, they are written in a language, a style, which also speaks of the era from which it came.

Hair: **Protest and Popular Music**

As Wollman notes, the music of Broadway had been 'synonymous' with American popular music for decades but, by the sixties, had experienced a decline in its popularity in terms of its exposure in the charts. Instead, faced with the increasing popularity of rock 'n' roll, Broadway composers simply 'ignored' the relevance of this new musical genre (2006: 13). Furthermore, any mid-fifties or early sixties attempt to incorporate rock 'n' roll appeared nothing more than a pastiche, or, in some cases, mockery of the genre. By the early sixties, Broadway appeared to be experiencing difficulties; rising costs of production meant that producers were keen to merely make safe choices, adhering to the tried-and-tested formula of the musical in order to recoup costs and attempt to turn a profit; as Bottoms recognises, 'producers simply would not risk capital on new voices or untried material, and relied instead on [. . .] formulaic entertainments' (2004: 19). For

perhaps the first time during the twentieth century, Broadway's musical 'hits' became irrelevant and did not experience the same cultural currency as they had previously enjoyed; the language – or sound - of the musical seemed firmly out-of-step with the younger generation and did not reflect the kind of music gaining popularity in the *Billboard* Charts.

The rise in popularity of rock 'n' roll was largely driven by its consumer group. How music was consumed and experienced changed significantly during the decade of the fifties; through radio, the purchase of records, and socially, through the popularity of jukeboxes in spaces which were largely populated by teenagers. Whilst radio had been tightly controlled in terms of what was deemed appropriate for playing 'on-air', the youth population benefitted from the post-war affluence in that, their purchasing power informed music as a commodity; they could essentially pay to hear different genres of music, now readily available to them in record stores and jukebox playlists and in doing so, the styles of music they enjoyed – and consumed - indicated a 'shift away from Euro-American sensibilities [and] toward African-American ones' (Garofalo, 2002: 6-7). As Farber notes, the most popular R&B music made its way to jukebox lists across America and 'the popular music business, operating outside the racist horizon of white America's "traditional" system' did a great deal for cultural integration (1994: 59). At this point, the nomenclature of popular music and its respective sub-genres, becomes somewhat complicated. Frith approaches this complexity by considering music-as-commodity, taking into consideration who consumes music and who therefore, dictates the market and what is produced. Thus, he defines 'rock' music as 'music produced for the simultaneous consumption of a large youthful market' but notes that it also carries implications concerning 'the form of music involved and of the intentions of the musicians'. Moreover, he also notes that rock is 'less single-mindedly commercial' than pop and carries with it a 'hippy validity' (1978: 14). He then asserts that any study of the rock genre must begin with an examination of the sociology of youth.

It is worth pausing to consider whether such a youth culture had any political significance and in doing so, it is necessary to consider the position of the teenager and the manner in which they achieve status in society. As Eisenstadt (quoted in Frith) proposes, the young possess a marginal status, largely because they have not yet emerged from their family and they are still inculcated in preparatory institutions which are essentially controlled by adults. Given their transitional status, the younger generation cannot form the basis of a counter culture because their values 'are not opposed to those of adults but a preparation for them' (Eisenstadt in Frith, 1978: 26). However, what should be considered is the particular political concerns of the sixties and Frith argues that this counter-culture was indeed 'armed with an ideology', one that rejected the 'rewards of work' (53-54). I would argue that this somewhat under-estimates the political consciousness of this particular social group; their values were not only formed around this singular ideology but also incorporated wider values, expressed by other social groups (civil rights movements, feminist movements, anti-war movements). Indeed, the young may well be in transition, which placed them on the margins of society, but this also meant that they could identify shared values with others who were similarly placed in this liminal position.

It is clear therefore that this connection of rock music to youth culture, with further associations to the hybridity of the genre, might indeed create anxiety amongst older generations. If we consider that, as Bhabha proposes, nation and narration are inextricably intertwined in communicating values, then music can also be considered as a marker of identity and illuminate the ways in which we understand the formation of identity; music was now operating outside the 'racist horizon' of the traditional American system. The term 'rock and roll' became institutionalised through televised dance shows and films, and although its origins in rhythm and blues were not accurately communicated, this exposure allowed for a 'repositioning of artists from the racial margins to the center of American popular culture' (Maultsby, 2015: 254). However, this caused significant unease in the older generation and 'touched on social fears that stretched from youth

concerns to racial tensions and sexuality' (Hall, 2005: 65). Moreover, Hall asserts that 'the allure, and the anxiety, of the music's physical impact were real' and this was perhaps where the generational gap was most clearly exemplified (70). Similarly, the anxiety felt towards rock was also evident in the development of the musical, as illustrated in Ethan Mordden's denigration of its use on-stage. Calling Clive Barnes the '*New York Times'* theatre idiot' for advocating rock scores, Mordden continues to propose that:

> rock's intrusive beat and usually illiterate lyrics made it useless on Broadway – to everyone except Barnes. Savaging traditional Broadway scores and rewarding authors who flattered his demands, Barnes helped destroy the musical's confidence by bombing decent shows and pushing for that jackass's ideal, the rock musical.
>
> (2001: 232)

Indeed, Mordden goes further in his derision of rock in musical theatre by proposing that 'there was never to be a rock musical worth hearing, and there was no need for rock to make it to Broadway' (ibid.) Beyond his clear disdain for the work of Clive Barnes, his assertion that rock did not need to make it to Broadway perhaps indicates how reticent the genre was to relinquish traditional modes and methods on the musical theatre stage (and, incidentally, indicates that some authors writing about the genre of musical theatre were also fixated on the notion of nostalgia too.)

With the advent of television as the main form of mass media and the musical tastes of the nation changing, Broadway perhaps became irrelevant in terms of its influence in popular culture, and yet, as Brown and Lison propose, music and other forms of visual media were 'newly inseparable, in affective (and often in concrete) terms, from the visual cultures associated with the exhibitions and "happenings" staged by artists in the sixties' (2014: 2). Music also played an integral, galvanising role in the civil rights movement and their protests (explored further in chapter two). At the same time that the politics of the musical seemed less relevant, popular music became increasingly more relevant; it became the

means through which the youth culture – and the counterculture – could express themselves. As Roszak admits in the introduction to the 1995 re-publication of his seminal work (originally published in 1968):

> If there is one aspect of the period that I now wish had enjoyed more attention in these pages, it is the music. Music inspired and carried the best insights of the counter culture – from folk protest ballads and songs of social significance at the outset to the acid rock that became the only way to reflect the surrealistic turn that America was to take at the climax of the Vietnam War.
>
> (xxxiv)

Popular music perhaps reflected the aspirations and protests of the youth better than any form of media during the sixties.

The sub-title of *Hair* (the American Tribal Love-Rock Musical) makes its connection to the rock, youth culture explicit. It indicated that the message of this musical was to be communicated in a musical language which appealed directly to the youth culture, one they understood and could relate to. Composer, Galt MacDermot did not have a background in composing for Broadway, indeed, in an interview in 1968 he stated that 'old type swing and Broadway music is finished. Nothing else goes. There has been a new beat for the last five years' (Whittaker, 1968). Whilst *Hair* is frequently categorised as a 'rock musical', the music itself cannot be as simply categorised. Appendix C also outlines the style of music employed for each musical moment, which elucidates how each song could be linked to the behaviour and/or conditions of the character or scene being presented. Buchen notes that the music of *Hair* is 'eclectic. It plays on the sounds and rhythms associated with New Orleans, Nashville, Detroit, Memphis, Liverpool, Manchester and New Delhi.' However, he also notes the inclusion of 'parodies on the Ink Spots and Supremes' (1969: 327). This is a troubling observation to make, although his parenthetical insertion following this comment – '(commercialized bodies)' – does suggest he has considered how these moments may function as something more profound. Whilst parody does not necessarily have to be satirical or humorous, it does possess uncomfortable cultural resonances and its use here

perhaps should have been considered more carefully. (The following chapters do indeed aim to more carefully consider how these moments function.)

Of particular interest is the proliferation of songs in the score which are written in the folk-rock style. Frith notes that in this style of music:

> young whites found a form that could be made directly responsible to their political concerns and that, in this respect, served a parallel purpose to that of black music for its users – the two concerns and the two forms of music came together most obviously in the civil rights struggle
>
> (1978: 185)

Similarly, Dunson suggests that 'entwined in the music and words of folk-rock are the segregated field of race music, white rock and roll, pop music values, and the protest singers [. . .] of the 1960s' (in Denisoff, 1969: 215). This style of music therefore, represented a political commitment and, as Denisoff attempts to categorise its sound, a hybridity of musical styles: 'the Dylaneqsue "folk" style, the early Liverpool sound, Negro strains, rock-a-billy, and the so-called San Francisco drug sound' (ibid.). Perhaps more interestingly, Denisoff also remarks that this style of music signalled another stage of the adolescent's transition into adult social status, one which demarcated the university-educated youth from their 'non-collegiate peers'. Three further points of note, as expressed by Frith, also solidify folk-rock's function as protest music and a product of the sixties: firstly, in folk clubs and other spaces where this genre of music was performed, there was 'little distinction' between performer and audience, 'anybody could, and did, get up and sing' (1978: 185). This style of collective music-making echoes the theatrical techniques employed by the Open Theatre and, subsequently, in *Hair*, which eroded boundaries between performer and spectator, perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the final song of the production ('Let the Sunshine In') which invites audience members to sing – and dance – in the performance space. Secondly, in the same way that *Hair* invites us to reimagine the role of women in society, so too did folk-rock. The genre's 'emphasis on words, on performing sincerity, opened up chances for female musicians not available elsewhere in

white popular music'. In rock, such chances were not available due to its inherent masculinity and sexist restrictions (explored in chapter three), in folk-rock, women 'succeeded as individuals' (186). Furthermore, the vast majority of folk-rock musicians were singer-songwriters, thus ensuring women were involved in the creation of music rather than controlled by the rules which governed the mass production of popular music. In theatre, similar advancements were also taking place; *Viet Rock,* the forerunner to *Hair,* was written by an entirely female creative team (Megan Terry provided the book, Marianne de Pury, the score). It is also interesting to note that the majority of solo female songs in *Hair* are written in the style of folk-rock, as illustrated in appendix C. Finally, folk-rock developed as a rebellion against record companies, it 'opposed the ideology of mass music-making' (187) by ensuring that performances were mainly live, often without electronic amplification and were 'created directly and spontaneously out of communal experience' (197).

Popular music, in its various styles and genres, became integral to the youth culture of the sixties. Not only did it reflect the hybridity of American identity in general, but it also developed as a form of rebellion against both the music industry and the values of the older generation. It became the language of a social class in transition, on the margins, and perhaps became more politically driven than ever before. The following chapters will explore some of these musical moments in *Hair* in further detail, highlighting the ways in which the score communicates these political messages in a range of diverse languages and styles, which reflected the multiplicity and diversity of the sixties.

Theatre and Protest: *Hair*'s Reception

The sensitive, political nature of the material explored in *Hair* formed a further link to the notion of protest in that, productions of the musical prompted several of its own protests – outside the theatre - throughout the States and indeed, around the world. Horn (1991) catalogues some of the opposition *Hair* faced when it opened across the US, ranging from various political organisations

picketing outside the theatres where it played and clergymen releasing white mice into the audience in an attempt to create a mass exodus, to the issues the show raised being debated in Supreme Court as a result of opposition in both Boston and Tennessee (the latter banning the production entirely, not even allowing previews). The majority of objections seemed to stem from the nudity, profanity, or a sense that *Hair* was unpatriotic. Similar opposition was met around the world in productions in Germany, France, Mexico, Norway, and Switzerland. Later revivals were equally beset with similar issues and, in some cases, more chilling; after various protests against the production in Cleveland, Ohio in 1971, a bomb exploded outside the theatre after a threat had been called in during act one of the performance. A letter, dated February 23rd 1970, sent from the state commander of the American Veterans of World War II, Korea and Vietnam outlines his concerns, the use of punctuation perhaps illuminating what really lay at the heart of the opposition towards *Hair*:

> My understanding from the Boston Herald Traveler is that your theatre is presently housing a "musical" that manges (sic) in some way to abuse the American flag. [. . .] I am asking veterans not only to abstain from attendance at this production but to join me in protesting this current display of vicious un-Americanism. [. . .] Those who desecrate a flag, however, should be prosecuted. It is my sincere hope that Hair will have an early and permanent closing.
>
> (Harold in Grode, 2010: 113)

Whilst the focus of this complaint appears to be the perceived desecration of the flag (something which the writers – and performers[27] - did not consciously intend), the use of the word 'musical' in quotation marks is particularly illuminating; this is not what the writer has come to expect of musical theatre entertainment. Much has been written about *Hair*'s treatment of the Stars and Stripes; the song 'Don't Put It Down' features Berger, Woof and Steve expressing that their 'heart beats true for the Red, White and Blue' (Rado, Ragni, 1967: 80)

[27] For a detailed explanation of how cast members perceived the use of the flag, and the intentions behind those scenes, see Jonathon Johnson's account in *Good Hair Days* (2004)

and culminates in them folding the flag in prescribed military fashion, but not before Woof has used it as a hammock. Following an article by Abel Green published in *Variety* in 1970, which reported that James Lovell and John Swigert – two Apollo 13 astronauts – had walked out of the show because of the unpatriotic way in which the flag was treated, the popular opinion seemed to be that *Hair* was Anti-American, treating the national flag with contempt and disrespect. This was not the intention of either James Rado or the producer, Michael Butler, who were utterly respectful and explicit about the ways in which the flag was to be treated on-stage. *Hair*'s attitude towards protest stemmed more from its objection to America being involved in the Vietnam War and highlighting how America had almost lost sight of the inclusive values upon which its principles were established. Given that scenes in *Hair* utilise the past to communicate its message, it could be argued that the musical attempted to show the ways in which America could apply the values upon which it was founded in a more practical manner, rather than abandon them altogether. Nevertheless, both Grode (2010) and Horn (1991) comment on audience members leaving, or confronting the cast during the song 'Don't Put it Down'. Experimental theatre that challenged and questioned American values and politics could remain on the fringes of entertainment, but musicals, which were considered mainstream were not known for dealing with contemporary issues in such an incisive manner. As Shalson proposes, 'the relationship between theatre and protest is also marked by a common belief that theatre in its more institutionalized forms is hopelessly removed from real political action' (2017: 18). Whilst this may have been the case with previous musicals, *Hair* was unlike those which had gone before; perhaps the protestors also recognised that 'performances in the theatre both enact power relations and influence how people see the world' (ibid. 35).

In 1969, Buchen labelled *Hair* as 'more radical' than other musicals, which he also considers are 'mere froth'. This perhaps reflects a wider attitude that the musical has become fascinated with nostalgia and its political message failed to represent the contemporary context and wider societal concerns. He comments that '. . . the

musical frustrates intellectual processing, just as the generation it perhaps speaks for so frustrates our understanding' (327). I believe that *Hair* actually enables our understanding of the generation for which it speaks, both in its content and its structure. Whilst he astutely observes that in this production 'the art of the musical story has yielded to the art of musical environment' (326), I also argue that it has yielded to its social environment *through* utilisation of the musical environment. It is clear that Broadway prior to *Hair* was failing to enact the fractured power relations in society and, as a result, inaccurately represented the world as it was during this decade. Furthermore, its ability to influence how people saw the world became somewhat diluted, particularly as the productions staged on Broadway in the early sixties seem to promulgate the established hegemonic discourse, thus negating those on the margins whose voices were becoming more widely – and loudly – heard. The following chapters outline and explore how the events of the sixties shaped and informed the content of *Hair.* The analysis presented will identify how *Hair* utilised experimental theatre techniques and popular music to represent marginal identities on-stage. In doing so, it will highlight the ways in which *Hair* could be considered as a form of resistance enacted against the established traditions of musical theatre and propose the ways in which it communicates and reinforces the utopian nature of the sixties.

Chapter 2: *Hair* and Race

Until the sixties, America had constructed a certain narrative about its own cultural identity through notions of inclusiveness. Schlesinger (1998) and Maufort (1997) debate the historical use of the metaphor of the 'Melting Pot' which advocated the fusion of all minority groups and promoted assimilation, and is further reinforced by the official motto of the United States: 'e pluribus unum' ('Out of many, one'). The 'meta or grand narratives […] that claim to speak for all' (Campbell and Kean, 2012:26) are generally based on accounts of history that have been formed through the locus of the male, white heterosexual. These narratives tend to reinforce binary differences in terms of established traditional American culture as 'self' and therefore, minority cultures as 'Other' and do not recognise the diverse and multiple identities that 'mix and collide, constantly producing and reproducing new selves and transforming old ones' (ibid.).

Campbell and Kean highlight the various myths that contribute to the grand narrative that constructs 'America', but a common theme identified throughout these myths is one of reinvention and renewal. The language of presidential speeches and American literature draws upon 'the deep tradition of myths of new beginnings and the dream' (2012:36). Such myths, they argue, are ideological because they defend and promote the interests of dominant groups in society, (those often with the highest status, most wealth and authority) whilst also serving to progress from opposition to resolution. However, these myths have perpetuated the notion of the American dream and have, in turn, worked to construct 'national character' (2012:11). It is this national character that pervades all subsequent examinations of American national identity and dictates ideas of what America is or *should* be. It is 'grounded in the privileged status accorded to a white, male, middle-class, heterosexual perspective' (2012:3) and it is this perspective that influences the dominant narrative. 1960s Beat poet, Allen Ginsberg wrote in 1959 that 'recent history is the record of a vast conspiracy to impose one level of mechanical consciousness on mankind and exterminate all manifestations of that unique part of human sentience' (Ginsberg in Morgan,

2000:3). His words reiterate that subordinate groups in American society are placed within this narrative and whilst their perspectives appear to be expressed to a certain extent, they are often rejected entirely in the interest of establishing leadership.

It is clear that the sixties was an era in which marginalised voices in America, who viewed the established ideology as excessively hegemonic, expressed discontent with the dominant narrative of an 'America gone mad with materialism…. prepared to battle the world in defense (*sic*) of a false image of its authority.' (Ginsberg in Morgan, 2000: 5). Campbell and Kean propose that the idea of reinvention and possibility still lie at the heart of the message of the counter-culture. Citing the work of several Beat writers, they propose that the language used in the poetry of the time 'recalls the mythic notion of new beginnings and celebrates the idealism of America […] as a place capable of change.' (2012:37). Although the counter-culture appeared to be in opposition to the dominant culture, the intentions of this group were similar to those of the traditional discourse that originally constructed 'America'; rebirth, renewal, reinvention. Groups excluded from previous visions of the American Dream (on the grounds of race, gender and sexuality) sought to reinvent America by 'stressing the utopian aspects' (Sayres in Campbell and Kean: 2012, 38) of inclusivity; a better world in which marginalised voices were not excluded from or subdued by the discourse, but enriched the country through diversity.

The famous 1963 speech of Martin Luther King during the 'March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom' also utilises similar language of a utopian nature. Standing in front of the Lincoln memorial, in front of a quarter of a million protestors[28]King made reference to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. But King used language that specifically appealed to all classes, dominant and marginal; white, middle-class citizens who

[28] This figure included at least 75,000 white people in addition to the white families watching on television in their homes.

had benefitted from a society obsessed with materialism and black citizens who had yet to reap the benefits. His words echoed some of the ideals of the corporate class when he spoke of 'cashing checks [*sic.*]' and 'signing a promissory note,' but he also appealed to those who believed that the American dream had been hijacked by corporations and materialism when he warned that the nation must not return to 'business as usual.' (King, 1963:1-2). Asserting that he refuses to believe 'the bank of justice is bankrupt' (2), King employed both the language and the spectre of Lincoln to recall the ideals of the founding forefathers; 'Five score years ago a great American in whose symbolic shadow we stand today signed the Emancipation Proclamation' (1). What King manages to do is use language that is grounded in tradition, history and ideology, combined with the central ideas of rebirth and renewal. Here, this notion is presented as re-fashioning; 'to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope' (5). The most famous section of the speech reiterates the phrase 'I have a dream' and it is this repeated stance that hints at wish-fulfilment in a way which 'sought to integrate the redemption of the oppressor with the aspirations of the oppressed.' (Campbell and Kean, 2012:99). Central to King's message was the notion that by allowing African American people to have a voice, to have access to equal rights, America could become a better place. Schlesinger states King asserted that 'the Negro is an American, [who] knows nothing of Africa' (1998:89) and rather than utilise language that evokes images of African roots, King reinforced the mythology central to the American Dream. It is clear his speech proposes that by acknowledging its diverse cultural identity, America could transform into the land that it always promised to be; it could reinvent and renew.

King's speech is symptomatic of a period when black civil rights activists were attempting to 'assert pride and claim identity' (Schlesinger, 1998:79). Created during this period, the musical *Hair* presents representations of African American cultural identity. On initial examination, representations of African American identity in the musical appear to be merely stereotypes, created and shaped by a white creative team, reinforcing the dominant discourse of the male, white

heterosexual. But *Hair* also provides representations of African American identity which speak clearly of the time in which the piece was written and the nature of identity in general. In broader terms, the musical is representative of the larger civil rights struggle taking place in American society and echoes the view that cultural identity is subject to transformation; whilst the characters on-stage are presented often in fixed, essentialised terms, the context of the scenes in which they appear show characters who are subject to the 'play' of history, culture and power. This analysis will demonstrate how African American characters in *Hair* transform their identity through rewriting and retelling their own history in their own terms and subsequently, this allows for an alternative imagining of their role in American society.

It can be argued that the way in which African American characters function in the ensemble of *Hair* reinforces and mirrors the structure of positions that form the basic model of society. Whilst establishing the ensemble as a community, an extended family, the structure of the ensemble also indicates that there are distinctly separate groupings. These groupings are often delineated by gender or race. Songs assigned to the African American characters in the ensemble of *Hair* prompt us to consider their status in American society. In his seminal work, 'Les rites de passage', Arnold Van Gennep (1908) recognises that 'each larger society contains within it several distinctly separate groupings' and that all these groups 'break down into still smaller societies or subgroups' (Chapter One: The Classification of Rites). Furthermore, he proposes that these groups experience transitions from one social grouping to the next, between places, age, social positions and states. Victor Turner (in developing Gennep's work) defines a 'state' as 'a relatively fixed or stable condition […] a recurrent condition that is culturally recognized' (1964:46). The transition between such states is accompanied by three stages; separation, liminal period, reassimilation. It can be argued that African Americans in society during the sixties were entering the separation phase comprising 'symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the individual or

group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or a set of cultural conditions' (Turner, 1964:47).

In moving from the separation phase into the liminal period, the 'subject' becomes invisible, their status is ambiguous. Turner argues that this realm has few attributes of the past state or the future state; the invisibility of the subject is as a result of members of society not seeing what is expected, 'what we are conditioned to see when we have learned the definitions and classifications of our culture' (ibid.). Scenes in *Hair* present depictions of the separation period, they support and present representations of African Americans in their culturally defined, expected and fixed roles. However, they also present moments of liminality, where the audience (particularly the black observer) can consider 'what if?' These moments are 'betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremony.' (Turner, 1969:95) During this phase, social status is stripped away and limitless possibilities are considered in preparation for the reassimilation phase. An example of a scene in *Hair* that illustrates this phase is during Claude's hallucination and occurs in the song 'Abie Baby'. This is discussed later in the chapter, but the manner in which the positions assigned by law and custom (in this case, the Presidential office) are removed and reassigned is an ideal example of how the musical explores and embodies the liminal period.

Whilst seeking to promote its universal message of peace, love and harmony, it can be argued that *Hair* often negates the multicultural voices heard throughout American history, presenting instead somewhat stereotypical representations of, in particular, black people. The musical uses such stereotypes to communicate the nature of black culture in American society; whilst appearing to subscribe to the tradition of presenting stereotypes of African Americans, it instead uses these methods to highlight the separation inherent in American society. This chapter analyses key scenes from the musical, discussing how stereotypical representations of African Americans have been used and subsequently performed in order to re-appropriate black identity. These scenes represent the

separation period; through defining the social structure, such scenes then explore how black observers might 'know the present and invent the future.' (hooks, 1996: 213). The analysis which follows highlights how moments from the musical can be read in this context and explores how the African American characters communicate their place in the structure of American society, re-appropriate their own identity, (albeit through stereotypical means) and then redefine their future within the social structure.

Although these scenes present an ambiguous subject, the subjects are far from invisible. Whilst African American characters in *Hair* experiment with the ways in which they are culturally defined, the moments of liminality provide opportunities for both the audience and performers to consider what the resulting reassimilation phase may be; to dream of a better world in which 'all men' (and women), regardless of race or culture, 'are created equal.'

The 'Tribe'

Upon initial examination, the musical *Hair* appears to be a portrayal of how multiple subcultures interacted with each other, forming common aims, principles and a collective identity. The youthful cast of characters in *Hair* is, from the outset, represented as being self-sufficient and not integrated into mainstream society by being collectively referred to as 'The Tribe'. However, the term also connotes a sense of family and community. The duality of this term is interesting as it suggests a bond (togetherness) whilst also remaining separate from something; in this case, the mainstream, dominant culture. Although the subtitle 'The Tribal Love Rock Musical' was initially suggested in a rather 'tongue-in-cheek' manner, MacDermot (2003) states that it 'had an effect' and prompted Michael Butler, the producer, to include an image of a Native American Indian on the artwork for the original cast recording album, which made direct reference to the Native American communities of the pre-colonial era. The use of this term, and the accompanying visual image, suggests that the group exists outside of the dominant community, in the language of the sixties; 'drop-outs'. Marwick relates

the studies that Professor Lewis Yablonsky conducted in 1967, which highlighted there were approximately 200,000 'visible and identifiable hippie drop-outs in the United States' (1998:480), coupled with several hundred thousand part-time hippies. Many of the communes in which these hippies lived were referred to as 'tribes' (the Rising Sun Tribe in the East Village in New York features prominently in the results of Yablonksy's survey), where sexual permissiveness and experimentation with drugs were prevalent. Psychedelic drugs such as LSD and peyote were used widely and many of the Beat generation of poets wrote under the influence of, or about their experiences with the latter.[29] Native American Indian tribes have used peyote for centuries as part of their religious and ceremonial practices. With its saturation in popular culture, it is little wonder that the term 'tribe' was applied to the ensemble in *Hair.* But it is worth further scrutinising the connotations of such a word.

In his study of 1960s popular music and black culture, Middleton notes similarities between white working-class young men and urban black males (both of whom comprise the majority of the Tribe in *Hair*) and considers that both could be regarded as 'tribal, living in the present, irresponsible, irrational and hedonistic.' (1990:153). The use of the word to characterise this group (the Tribe) suggests that despite the perceived negative connotations of irresponsibility and irrationality often found in tribal behaviour, the group are still founded on a shared common culture. But to regard this Tribe as possessing a single, collective identity is to over-simplify the complex issue of cultural pluralism in American society in general. Grouping these subcultures into the singular form (Tribe) 'indirectly promote(s) the status quo' (Maufort, 1997:3) and does not allow for an investigation of the complex presentations of race, gender and class offered in the musical. In Bennett's evaluation of youth, music and style he proposes that subcultures are not fixed entities but rather 'a series of foci or 'sites' within which

[29] Ginsberg's *Howl,* Michael McClure's *Peyote Poem* and Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest.*

the individual can live out a selected, temporal role or identity before relocating to an alternative site and assuming a different identity' (1999:605).

The use of the term 'tribe' is therefore complex. Its popular cultural references are clear and denote something of the time and place in which *Hair* was conceived and is perhaps used as a zeitgeist; neatly summarising the spirit of the age. However, it does little to communicate the fractures inherent in American society.

Act One: 'Colored Spade'

In act one of the musical, many of the scenes featuring African American characters rely on stereotypical representations. However, upon closer analysis, these representations do not serve to denigrate African Americans but function as moments where cultural identity is re-appropriated. The analysis of the song 'Colored Spade' highlights how the character of Hud defines the social structure but through doing so, re-appropriates blackness. This serves as preparation for the liminal period explored later in act two.

The dialogue cue for 'Colored Spade' in act one is Woof's assertion that 'we are all one', but what follows, musically, suggests the opposite is in fact true. The character, Hud appears onstage hanging upside down from a pole, carried by two white boys. This firmly establishes an order in which the white middle-class male is dominant and presents an image of African Americans as slaves. Furthermore, it portrays the black male in animalistic terms; a slaughtered beast, the hunted prize. The resemblance between Hud's costume (in both the original and revival production) and the style favoured by the popular musician, Jimi Hendrix is striking. The overgrown afro hairstyle with a headband, coupled with the bell-bottomed trousers, flowing shirt and necklaces of beads is reminiscent of the image that Hendrix carefully crafted following his emergence on the trans-Atlantic music scene and echoed on a number of his album covers and in publicity shots. In her study of Hendrix and racial politics in the sixties, Lauren Onkey (in Braunstein and Doyle, 2002) observes that some critics of Hendrix noted how the

musician adopted 'white' fashion but also outlines the 'revolutionary potential of [his] style for blacks' (2002: 196):

> But a grinning, crazy-haired Hendrix in hussar's jacket suggested something else entirely – a redskin brave showing off the spoils of a paleface scalp, perhaps, or a negro "buffalo soldier" fighting on the side of the anti-slavery Yankee forces in the US Civil War.
>
> (Spencer in Onkey, 2002: 196)

The choice of words used to describe Hendrix's appearance is particularly interesting and also highlights the popular fascination with Native American Indian traditions (denoted in the use of the term 'tribe' in *Hair*.) Furthermore, this describes Hendrix in terms related to two groups of dispossessed people in American society.

As for his music, Onkey argues that his stage performances were not recognised as a 'staple in black popular musical performance' and his 'flamboyance on stage was not understood as signifying "black"' (198). Hendrix used his electric guitar as a symbol of rebellion; plucking the strings with his teeth and using distortion to mimic the sounds of gunshots and the screams of war suggest signs of wild rebellion. To many critics it seemed that Hendrix was merely satisfying white stereotypes of the black male; erotic, dangerous, violent and highly sexual. Labelled as a 'psychedelic Uncle Tom',[30] Hendrix appeared to do little to advance race relations beside present 'a beautiful Spade routine' (Christgau in Onkey, 2002: 199), an accusation frequently levelled at Hendrix following the Monterey Pop Festival of June, 1967.[31] As discussed in the introduction, Hendrix sought performance spaces where he would not be judged by binary definitions of music and identity. Through his carefully crafted image, he represented both the possibilities and the dangers of hybridity. However, Hendrix – and his

[30] The Uncle Tom caricature portrays black men as faithful, happy, generous, selfless and submissive servants. They 'endear themselves to white audiences and emerge as a hero of sorts' (Bogle, 1994:6)
[31] In addition to Robert Christgau's review, Onkey also cites the reviews of Mablen Jones and Craig Werner.

performances – represented the complexities that surround racial discourse. To some audiences, he represented wild, untamed rebellion. But in attempting to avoid defining both his image and music solely on racial terms, his persona could be read as a betrayal of the Civil Rights movement and their shift towards emphasising a pride in black culture. Similarly, this complex representation of Hud in the opening scenes prompts the audience to conflate several cultural references to the African-American male. Whilst presenting Hud in racially stereotyped terms (through his first appearance, hanging from a pole), the audience are reminded of the supposed wild, rebellious nature of dispossessed groups in American society. This is juxtaposed against the staged, constructed rebellion of rock music, favoured by Hendrix, particularly in his live performances. By making reference to both, the audience are presented with a complex set of signs that perhaps speak loudly of the potential dangers the civil rights movement posed to the dominant, white mainstream culture but perhaps also represent the possibilities – and complexities - of hybridity. The similarities between the fictional character of Hud and Jimi Hendrix are laid bare in both appearance and in the title of the song which opens this scene.

When read in conjunction with the visual imagery, analysis of the score offers further insight into the function of this scene. 'Colored Spade' begins with a syncopated bass line and when Hud begins to sing, his melody is one that is firmly rooted in intervals of a third. In the Western classical tradition the interval of the third indicates major or minor tonal harmony and in Blues music, the third appears flattened in all versions of the scale; hextatonic,[32] heptatonic and octatonic. The restricted nature of this melody is illuminating for two reasons. Firstly, the inclusion of the flattened seventh in the melodic line suggests that the song is constructed in a blues style. In European derived musics, the flat seventh

[32] The hextatonic scale is built on the minor pentatonic scale. In Blues performance, both the major and minor pentatonic scales are frequently used and the result bears resemblance to a number of modes; particularly mixolydian and dorian. The modal system of scales existed prior to the Western harmonic system and was used as the harmonic basis for folk melodies and music of Non-Western tradition.

occurs naturally with the dominant chord. Here, in 'Colored Spade', the same note is sounded against the tonic chord, a technique reminiscent of blues music which is further reinforced by the repetitive use of both the tonic and dominant in the bass line. The omission of the flattened third of the scale, but the inclusion of the flattened seventh suggests that this could possibly be a version of the blues octatonic scale which is a chromatic variation of the Western major scale. In bar three, the third and seventh degrees of this scale alternate between their normal and flattened versions, creating a nuanced blues tonality.

In this example, the blues note appears to be 'aural shading', perhaps a simple vocal adjustment or nuance. As David Evans notes, there is no single blues scale and the term is simply a 'convenient designation' for any scale which differs from a Western major or minor one. He argues that 'blue notes [. . .] can be seen to represent symbolically a tension between an African musical legacy and a superimposed Western system as well as a successful resolution of this tension' (in Burnim and Maultsby, 2015: 126-127). The inclusion of blue notes here perhaps also represents some of the complexities and tensions highlighted in the discussion of Hendrix.

Further parallels can be drawn here with the music of Hendrix. The 'transformative hybridity' (Onkey in Braunstein and Doyle, 2002: 206) apparent in his music mainly stems from the result of mixing blues music with rock and roll. But black musicians of the mid to late sixties were searching for a more 'authentic' black aesthetic, shunning the potentially integrative power of Hendrix's music and instead using funk music that carried with it a message of black power. Originating in the mid-1960s, and rooted in a blend of jazz, soul and rhythm and blues, funk music is characterised by its strong rhythmic emphasis created through the use of electric bass and drums to produce a sound less focused on melody and harmony. Funk music frequently focuses on improvising over a single, sustained chord rather than following the established chord progressions of its predecessors. The perceived 'shunning' of Hendrix's fusion of blues music and rock and roll (as opposed to a fusion of strictly African-American styles) is

indicative of how the message of the civil rights movement progressed throughout the sixties (discussed in detail later in the chapter). During the early years of the decade, the movement focused on integration, of the merits of black and white Americans living equally and opening a dialogue that could result in the appreciation of both cultures. Towards the end of the decade, when the changes the civil rights movement campaigned for were not happening quickly enough, or at all, the message moved to one that emphasised the singularity of black people, reinforcing difference and promoting black power.

The opening bars of 'Colored Spade' appear to attempt to bring all these elements together; the element of rock and roll, coupled with the suggestion of blues music reinforce the integrative image of Hendrix already presented through costume. This, juxtaposed with the message of the lyrics (discussed in the following section) and the funk bass line, and the song seems to incorporate the entire message of the civil rights movement throughout the sixties; the shift from integration to highlighting and reinforcing difference.

Secondly, the simple nature of the melody coupled with a rhythmically complex bass line (particularly from bar 7 onwards) appears to highlight a key feature of African (and later, African American) music. Frith suggests that the appeal of African-American music lies in a 'rhythm focused experience' of the music, which allows for the body to be 'engaged with this music in a way this it is not engaged with European musics.' (1996:141). Earliest reports in the English language dating back to 1620, indicate that every event in the West African community is marked by 'public dances, which are accompanied with songs and music suited to the occasion' (Equiano in Southern, 1997: 5). This tradition was carried into the colonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, as Wilson states, is part of the 'heterogeneous sound ideal' which still pervades African American music of the twentieth century; the desire to 'incorporate physical body motion as an integral part of the music making process' (Wilson in Dagel-Caponi, 1999:159). The harmonic and rhythmic features of 'Colored Spade' therefore suggest the participatory nature of African American music making.

‘Colored Spade’ ends on an imperfect cadence which allows the aforementioned flattened seventh to resolve and present itself as the major third of the dominant chord, as clearly seen in bars 34 and 35. Although in essence, the use of the imperfect cadence suggests that the song appears ‘unfinished’, the resolution of the flattened seventh would suggest that the blues style this represents has been subdued in order to reach what McClary describes as ‘narrative closure’. The use of this term in McClary’s work refers specifically to the use of keys and tonal systems that ‘stand in the way of unitary identity’ (McClary in Solie, 1993:330). The tonal system of ‘Colored Spade’ throughout has suggested both the blues scale and the Western scale of G major. The vocal line has heavily utilised the flattened seventh (F natural) and only states F sharp in bar 18 when the lyrics ‘United States of Love’ appear.

The use of the flattened seventh throughout the song has created tension between the two tonal systems that at some point, must be resolved in order to achieve unity. This resolution would suggest that the Other (in this case, African Americans and by association, the blues tonal system) has been subdued in the interests of unitary identity and by the final bar, all suggestions of the blues tonality have been eradicated. However, it cannot be denied that the use of an imperfect cadence suggests that this song is, to the ear, unfinished and that there is much more still to be expressed about the position of African Americans both within the Tribe and in the larger society.

What is perhaps most interesting about this particular song is the interplay between the lyrics and music. Haralambos in his survey of black American song, suggests that blues lyrics concentrate on the experience of failure and state ‘this is the way it is, and this is how I am suffering’ (Haralambos in Frith, 2007:213). The lyrics of ‘Colored Spade’ consist of a list of derogatory terms used to locate African Americans through the understanding of white Americans (in this case, the

creative team.)[33] These terms not only refer to the somewhat limited employment opportunities available to African Americans but also literary characters who had been 'victims' of parody (Uncle Tom, Aunt Jemima, Little Black Sambo.)[34] The use of such terms seems to fulfil two very distinct purposes. The first appears to present the constructed, attractive mythology that white Americans have assigned not only to black Americans, but to all Other cultures that exist outside of the white, male heterosexual discourse. This is appropriately summarised in Murray's study of Jimi Hendrix; 'black people represent the personification of the untrammelled id – intrinsically wild, sensual, dangerous, "untamed" in every sense of the word' (1989:78). This is perhaps most easily recognised in the use of the terms 'Voodoo, zombie, Ubangi-lipped' (bars 13, 14). These lyrics promote a sense of threat, particularly given the inclusion of Voodoo; a religion which has been subject to a number of negative connotations and misconceptions. The fact that these lyrics are placed in between descriptions of the job roles African Americans have been consigned to suggests that they should be read as words and practices that are equally benign:

> Elevator, operator, table cleaner at Horn and Hardart, Slave
> *Voodoo, zombie, Ubangi-lipped,* flat-nosed,
> Tap Dancer, resident of Harlem
>
> (Rado, Ragni, 1967:23)

In his survey of *Hair,* Miller proposes that when these racist epithets are heard in quick succession they become 'ridiculous' and 'lose their power'. (2003; 112). To a white man, this may be one of the ways in which this performance could be read, but this was certainly not the case for black performers in the original production.

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[33] James Rado and Gerome Ragni brought the lyric of thirteen songs (of which one was 'Colored Spade') to the composer, Galt MacDermot. The two had written these lyrics as a result of research conducted by talking to characters on the streets and reading press articles. (http://hairthemusical.com/history.html)

[34] 'Little Black Sambo' is a character created by British novelist, Helen Bannerman and refers to perhaps the most controversial portrayal of the caricature and stereotype of the picaninny; portrayed as lazy, shiftless and child-like. The caricature of Aunt Jemima is discussed later in this chapter.

In a 2003 interview,[35] MacDermot himself states that the writers of the musical wanted to consciously address civil rights. He adds that although the words of 'Colored Spade' have no power on their own, the original Hud (Lamont Washington) experienced a great deal of difficulty in learning and performing the lyrics, finding them 'distasteful'. At the time of the original production, with the fight for civil rights at the forefront of American consciousness, it is easy to understand Washington's initial reaction to these lyrics. To reinforce and reiterate the stereotypes assigned to black people would appear to give credence to these epithets. E. Patrick Johnson in his book, *Appropriating Blackness* (2003) states that 'the tropes of blackness that whites circulate in the past – Mammy, Sambo […] have historically insured physical violence, poverty, institutional racism and second-class citizenry for blacks' (4) so it is little wonder that Washington would be reticent to recite them again.

Paul Gilroy (1991) in his journal article *It Ain't where you're from, it's where you're At* (sic), proposes that music provides a means by which the black culture can develop their struggles through the communication of information and this hints at the second purpose for such distinct lyrics; they can express the reality of what Johnson (2003) describes as the 'living of blackness'. In debating the use of language and the politics of authenticity, he proposes that language is one of the ways in which the 'living of blackness' is communicated:

> …blackness does not only reside in the theatrical fantasy of the white imaginary that is then projected onto black bodies, nor is it always consciously acted out: rather, it is also in the inexpressible yet undeniable racial experience of black people – the ways in which the "living of blackness" becomes a material way of knowing.
>
> (2003:8)

He notes the manner in which contemporary black and white youths appropriate the language of the other which prompts authenticity to be called into question

[35] The interview was recorded in New York in 2003 and features raw interview footage used for the documentary *Broadway: The American Musical.*

based on the relationship between skin colour and the performance of 'culturally inscribed language' (6), so it is interesting to consider how this dynamic shifts when the language is then re-appropriated. Whilst the climate of the sixties may deem this language sensitive, in subsequent productions, this scene may be read differently. There is no denying that these epithets exclude whites and in that respect alone, there is 'black power' in the use of such words. The contemporary use of the term 'nigger' for example, illustrates the cultural process which has taken place whereby a group has reclaimed a term that had previously been used to describe that same group in a disparaging manner. It could be argued that the intra-group use of such a term denotes a sense of community. The use of the term amongst whites is still considered taboo and therefore, the re-appropriation of this term is considered a form of socio-political empowerment.

It is worth noting however, that lyrics alone may not shape the ideals and attitudes of the listener. Frith suggests that song lyrics frequently go unnoticed or are misunderstood and asserts that interpretation of song words is best approached by considering them in relation to their expression; 'words in performance' (1996:166). It is through adopting this approach that the second function of the song, 'Colored Spade' becomes clear.

The character of Hud and the music and lyrics he is assigned allow for audience identification. His solo functions as a means through which African Americans could re-assert their own identity albeit in relation to others and as a way in which African Americans could reinforce their collective identity through acknowledgement of their shared historical struggle. A 1970 interview with the actor playing the role of Hud in the Chicago production confirms that cast members felt *Hair* gave them the 'chance to express anger at white exploitation, slavery, white capitalism, the draft. The chance to be satirical about things black people have known for a long time.' (McCloden in Miller, 2003:112). Hud's song expresses cultural difference, presenting images of how white men have defined and confined black men. The scene begins with an image of African Americans as slave. He (Hud) is dressed in the same manner as an African American popular

icon. From the opening of this scene, we are presented with images of how African Americans have been enslaved, confined and defined by white Americans. The performance allows for simultaneous readings; the first is one that is of course, degrading and racist. But the performance of the song could also be read as empowering for the cast member; by repeating and adopting the numerous derogatory terms listed in the lyrics, Hud has made these words his own, rendering them ineffective and removing the possibility of them being employed in an offensive way. The ambivalence of the stereotype, as Bhabha argues, allows for its repetition over time and instead, he calls for a counter-discourse which requires an 'alternative set of questions, techniques and strategies' (1990: 75). In *Hair,* the mobilisation of these stereotypes is a counter-discourse; the resignification of terms previously used to denigrate and restrict the social mobility of African Americans could be considered a site of resistance. Furthermore, employing this method in the context of the musical accrues another form of signification given that musical theatre itself is embedded in a history inextricably intertwined with minstrel shows.

As with many of the protest movements of the sixties, the civil rights movement had used music and song as forms of communication, as 'a tactic of social contestation in the struggle for desegregation.' (Martin, 2004:3). As discourse in the struggle for civil rights moved from assimilation to an enhanced sense of black cultural identity, so too did the type of song used by black power movements to heighten awareness of the political issues of the climate. In the late fifties, there were three main national bodies concerned with supporting racial equality: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Urban League. All three bodies were based in the Northern states of America and all three featured white representatives in their leadership. With only one coordinating body in the South (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference – SCLC), many of the protests that took place in the Southern part of the country were sporadic and disorganised. In 1960, under the auspices of SCLC, the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating

Committee (SNCC) was established. These bodies attempted to create and enforce legislative and judicial rulings that promoted integration and prohibited segregation, but the frustration that many African-Americans experienced with the pace at which such rulings moved is perhaps exemplified in Martin Luther King Jr.'s letter from a Birmingham jail, following his arrest on April 16th, 1964. Republished shortly after under the heading 'Why We Can't Wait', King states:

> Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation. […] As in so many past experiences, our hope had been blasted. We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action […] non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue…
>
> (King in Marwick, 1998:215)

Of the organising civil rights movement bodies, the SNCC appeared the most politically active; their spontaneous demonstrations often resulted in campaigners being jailed. Aligned to this group were the Freedom Singers; their role at SNCC events was to 'entertain, and help unite, the vast audience by performing songs that expressed, and intensified, the emotions of the moment' (Denselow, 1989:34). Such events often opened with a rendition of 'We Shall Not Be Moved' and progressed to 'old songs that had been sung for a hundred years, but with new words, and R&B songs from the jails and street corners' (Johnson-Reagon in Denselow, 1989:33). The performances of the Freedom Singers doubled as an opportunity to act as musical journalists, whereby songs were used to offer context to current events in the civil rights campaign. Perhaps more importantly, the group of singers were bringing the sound of black gospel music to audiences across the country and such songs prompted participation from those listening. The participatory nature of the music (easily repeated choruses and call and response featured heavily) encouraged whites to join their voices with blacks; folk singers such as Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and Peter, Paul and Mary sang alongside the Freedom Singers at SNCC events. The reconciliatory power of music appeared to have achieved its goal when President Lyndon Johnson quoted the

words of a gospel freedom song in his address to Congress in support of Voting Rights Act of 1965; 'The time of waiting is gone….we shall overcome' (Johnson in Denselow, 1989:42).

As frustrations at the pace of change grew and the Black Power era began, the type of music performed by those connected to the SNCC shifted to Afro-centricity and African musicians exiled in the USA (Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa) now became the 'sound' of the civil rights movement; 'the early civil rights ideals of peace and black-white co-operation seemed to have collapsed, and that collapse seemed […] to be symbolised by the new music, the wild and aggressive funk' (Denselow, 1989:54).

'Colored Spade' uses the style of 'wild and aggressive funk' and addresses the political issues in such a way that it allows both the performer and the listener to make sense of the song through a subjective and collective identity. The song's 'release' (or chorus) reveals the true nature of this quasi-protest number; the slogan. It is here that the song functions most comfortably as a protest song, with its assertion that Hud is 'President of the United States of love.' Again, Hud has re-appropriated a stereotype for transformative purposes; he is reclaiming the use of the stereotype of the 'Black Buck'; violent and displaying sexual prowess, particularly towards white women. In addition, the use of the word 'President' indicates a moment of liminality; the status and previous identity of the black character has now been stripped away and the possibilities for a reinvented future are laid bare; 'by posing the world as it is against the world as the racially subordinated would like it to be, [...] musical culture supplies a great deal of the courage required to go on living in the present.' (Gilroy, 1991:10).

Symbolically, at this point in the 2009 Broadway revival, Hud raises his right fist, performing the black power salute and on his final exclamation warning that 'the boogie man will get you', white members of the tribe cower in fear. The specific spelling of 'boogie' here is of note. Based on the reaction of the white members of the tribe, this could be a reference to the 'boogeyman' (derived from

'bogeyman'), a mythical character common to the folklore of many countries, used to frighten children into behaving and obeying their parents. In popular cultural representations of the bogeyman, no mention is made of race or ethnicity and the character is most commonly represented as a hooded male. The choice to spell the term as 'boogie' makes reference to the repetitive, rhythmic pattern used in blues music (played by the piano.) The reference appears to be more closely related to the musical heritage of African Americans but the response from the white tribe members signifies that the end result of the performance should be a sense of threat and fear. In the revival, the music and lyrics remain unchanged from its original incarnation, as does the intention of the song; to reinforce a black collective identity based on the shared reminiscence of an historical struggle. The outcome of the song hints at a challenge to the white dominant establishment; African Americans have reimagined their future, moving from the separation to the liminal phase and now hinting at re-assimilation, but on their terms. In this same revival, Hud is no longer carried onstage hanging from a pole and is already an established member of 'The Tribe'. His opening request to the audience to 'step to the back of the bus' with him is one that recalls the earlier struggles of civil rights campaigners, most notably, Rosa Parks and her resistance of bus segregation, thus reinforcing the function of 'Colored Spade' as a protest song.

In several productions of this song, the accompanying choreography contains echoes of the Jim Crow dance, first performed in 1832 by Thomas Dartmouth Rice purportedly based on his observations of an old black slave (Strausbaugh, 2006:58). Bent legs and hips are evident, in addition to a form of the soft-shoe shuffle and the most famous element of the dance; the slow heel-and-toe spin (for a visual example see; http://www.michaelbutler.com/hair/holding/photographs/hair/ColoredSpade.html)

The links to minstrelsy are implied through the movement of the black cast members in this song. The construction of a black identity through movement

appears to serve a purpose similar to that of the music and lyrics of this song, one that recalls moments of black inferiority in American history. In discussing the combination of music and dance in the musical, *Jelly's Last Jam,* Edney (2013) proposes that this confronts 'the place of African Americans both within the history of the United States and on the musical theater stage' (113). The use of the slow heel-and-toe spin bears a direct relation to the minstrel parodies of Dartmouth Rice and Zip Coon, and here, this parody is re-appropriated to elucidate 'those contradictions of history whereby African Americans are at once the source of "American" culture and erased from the history of that culture' (Edney in Symonds & Taylor, 2013:115). This re-appropriation allows black performers to powerfully reclaim and reassert their own history. Much of the choreography in the original Broadway production stemmed from group exercises conducted with the cast[36] and the original choreographer, Julie Arenal would 'isolate individual moves from people and build a vocabulary.' Original cast member, Marjorie Lipari confirms that the movement was 'organic. It came out of our bodies' (Grode, 2010:53). African American cultural dance functions in the same way as oral traditions; passed from generation to generation and developed over time, so it can be argued that this performance is an embodiment of the history and culture of their race. However, Broadway productions are carefully choreographed and whilst some of the movements may have been embedded in the body and the movement vocabulary of the black cast members, it is quite possible that the choreographer chose to embellish and exaggerate such movements. Arenal's building of a vocabulary that so many cast members refer to, could indicate an example of white people's appropriation of black traditions. Similar movement appears in the staging of 'Four Score/Abie Baby' in act two and the link to black slavery is more explicit in this later number.

In their personal accounts of performing in the original cast of the Broadway production of *Hair*, both Lorrie Davis and Jonathon Johnson note the racial

[36] Davis 1972, Grode, 2010, Johnson, 2004

separation present in the cast, reinforced by the nature of the material. Following the untimely death of one of the black cast members, Kramer, a white member of 'The Tribe', recalls the matinee performance on the day of the funeral; 'It's a strange thing, black people could play white roles, but white people couldn't play black roles. I sang 'Colored Spade.' Whoever thought whites would have to do black parts?' (in Davis, 1972:181). Davis, a black member of 'The Tribe' provides an alternative view, noting that 'only bit parts were being racially interchanged' (237) and lists instances where racial injustice appeared to be present in all aspects of the production. She refers to occasions when black civil rights protests entered public consciousness, stating 'I tried to get what little black message there was across with the part of Hud.' (241). Such statements point to the performative elements in the score of *Hair* and indicate that the black tribe members used these opportunities to reinforce a collective black identity and highlight the civil rights they were fighting for. Although it is clear from her remark that Davis felt this was a struggle, one which perhaps reflects the concurrent struggle African Americans were experiencing in society at the time.

The early placement of 'Colored Spade' within the musical often results in the importance of the song being overlooked. In her 1991 publication, Horn includes a few sentences describing the song and outlines its' function as a song that 'introduces Hud' (68). Whilst the song does indeed function in this manner, it actually serves to introduce the nature of being African American in the politically charged era of the sixties. As a unit, the song encapsulates the three phases of Van Gennep's 'Rites of passage'. The music and lyrics are Hud's expression of separation; both work together to define the experiences of black people in American society. By using music rooted in African American traditions, and lyrics that articulate their historical experiences in society, Hud is able to clearly separate the lived experience of black men from white men. The chorus functions as a protest song and is performed in this manner; the lyrics emphasise the liminal period, suggesting that African Americans can redefine their place in society, defy the laws and customs that bind American society and become 'President' (albeit

in this instance, of the 'United States of Love'.) As the song closes, we are offered a glimpse of the re-assimilation stage. The tonality of the final bars appears tenuous and unfinished but with the added threat implied by the final phrase the status of Hud is now inverted. Through re-appropriation of the negative language and images assigned to African-Americans, Hud has transformed the song into one of hope and empowerment.

Act Two: 'Yes, I's Finished/Abie Baby'

In act two of *Hair,* an extended sequence is included which reinforces the liminal stage of the rites of passage. The sequence is entitled 'Claude's Hallucination' which in itself, would suggest that the scene takes place 'in-between' worlds, or, for the purposes of this discussion, 'states'. The scene appears towards the start of act two, shortly after establishing that Claude will indeed join the army, and follows the song 'Walking in Space', which features the tribe participating in drug use, ingesting the drug LSD.

The representations of identity during this scene are based on establishing the dominant and normative nature of whiteness in American society and outline the colonial past of the United States. Both the music and the action on stage represent cultural identity in binary terms and the black man is portrayed as Other. 'Whiteness' is performed through establishing the European ideals of the founding forefathers, whilst 'blackness' is represented in stark contrast; refinement is juxtaposed against wild, untamed behaviour. Famous political and fictional figures are included in the roll call and join together in performing the European classical dance of the minuet which is interrupted by an attack from a 'group of Negroes' (Rado in Richards, 1979:460). The nature of this attack is discussed later in the chapter. Although all races are represented during the course of this scene, it appears to be the latter group that are presented in a manner which suggests that they will not subscribe to European ideals and furthermore, disrupt the serenity of the minuet. The following scene represents Van Gennep's phase of separation and serves as a reminder of the differences

between the cultures. The song that is included at the end of the scene is so powerful, that the separation phase needs to be dramatically drawn out. The fact that this scene is nothing more than a hallucination indicates that it is, in itself, liminal. The clarity of the separation phase (indicated by the delineation of black and white culture) seems to prepare the audience for the liminal moment to come. In addition, the scene appears to reinforce a white supremacist view that the black race lacks morality and therefore must be subdued in the interests of homogeneity. But this was not necessarily reflective of the varying and complex attitudes towards race and ethnicity in the tumultuous decade of the sixties. Cultural relationships cannot be over-simplified in these terms.

By the time *Hair* reached the off-Broadway stage in October 1967, the issues surrounding race in America had become complex and the changing relationship between black and whites had developed at 'different levels and in different forms.' (Marwick, 1998:194). Many of the events that occurred in the Southern states during the period of the fifties 'merged into a powerful and often very destructive movement affecting the Union as a whole.' (ibid.). Outlining the North/South divide that remained central to many of the racially dominated debates of this era, Marwick contests that much of the discrimination and prejudice levelled at African Americans in the Southern states was equally as rife in Northern states; the 'race' issue merely served to highlight the contempt that many Northern whites felt for the Southern population as a whole, regardless of race or colour. Mentioning the economic and industrial changes that occurred post World War II that resulted in 'substantial movements of blacks into areas formerly almost exclusively white', Marwick comprehensively catalogues some of the issues encountered as a result of this migration and states that the late 1950s were characterised by a period of seeming 'moderation', with attempts to enforce legislative (often at community level) rulings.

A 'Statement of Principles' drawn up by the black subcommittee of the Memphis Race Relations Committee appears to echo how ideological and conservative the black community initially were in their early 'negotiations' in Southern states:

> However much of any of us would like to reconstruct the world in his own image, any attempt to do so is unrealistic and fanciful. Decisions on the matters of race in our community cannot be good decisions or lasting ones unless honest and sincere attention is given to varying points of view. In short, the members of neither the white or Negro group can solve our problems by unilateral speaking or doing.
>
> (Wax in Marwick, 1998:198)

From Mississippi to North Carolina, the first three years of the sixties saw a heightened level of black activism in Southern states. The 1954 Supreme Court decision (Brown v. Board of Education) declaring segregation illegal had become 'a catalyst for courage' (Kaiser, 1988: 24), and a number of key events occurred that highlighted such a law may have been passed but was yet to be consistently enforced; Rosa Parks' refusal to relinquish her seat on a Montgomery bus to a white man, the Little Rock Nine's military escorts to ensure their safety inside Central High School and the North Carolina college students who refused to be moved from the 'whites-only' seating area of the Woolworth lunch counter are only a few examples of tactics employed to enforce desegregation laws. The white response to such activities ranged from open hostility, resulting in violence against blacks and civil rights workers, to 'the expressed intention of paying formal observance to desegregation laws only so that black/white relationships could continue as before' (Marwick, 1998:210). In July 1963, the weekly news magazine *Newsweek* published a comprehensive survey of a sample of black men and women, which drew the following conclusion; 'The revolution is anti-Jim Crow – not anti-white […] The revolt has deep roots in the world of the American Negro. That world was born in the rural South, where Negroes still live in old, unpainted shacks…' (Marwick, 1998:223). The clarity with which the revolution is described here is enlightening; the revolution was not against white people, but instead, was against the stereotyping of black men, created and promulgated in white

culture, which had often been used to maintain unemployment rates and poverty amongst blacks, predominantly in Southern states. The parody of Jim Crow had been used to control, mock and define African American men; it had been used to subject them to years of inequality and it was, in essence, this systematic manipulation that black people were rebelling against. Although desegregation laws had been passed nearly a decade earlier, in 1963, African Americans, especially in the South, were still experiencing inequality; nowhere better exemplified than in the Alabama governor George Wallace's refusal to allow black students to enter the doors of the University of Alabama. In his inaugural address, Wallace had previously invited 'negro citizens of Alabama' to work with him, but made it clear that this should be from their 'separate racial station' (1963: 12).

Later that year, racial tensions reached the Northern states. In August, Martin Luther King delivered his famous 'I Have a Dream' speech during the 'March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom' and it seemed that the fight for equality had entered into the public consciousness. The march was televised by the 'Big Three' television networks; ABC, CBS and NBC and simultaneously broadcast across Europe via the Telstar communications satellite.[37] The fight for equality was no longer an issue to be played out on a Southern stage, but across the nation. Nowhere was this seen more poignantly than in Newark, New Jersey in 1967, when riots, lasting five days, broke out. Both Marwick and Branch (2006) highlight that much of the gunfire heard during the riots was that of 'stray shots from police officers, troopers and guardsmen' (Branch, 2006: 630) with the former remarking that the rioters were systematic in targeting only white-owned businesses and indulged in only looting rather than arson (Marwick, 1998:578). Marwick notes that there was no single trigger that ignited the events in Newark, but instead points to the continuous building projects in the area that had redeveloped land and 'destroyed black communities' (ibid.). The unrest of 1967

[37] Of the three networks, CBS chose to continuously air the entire march over three hours and its live coverage achieved the highest viewer ratings; with a 40.7% share of the audience (compared to 19.5% for NBC and 11.3% for ABC.) In addition, the station chose to devote its primetime 'CBS Reports' slot (at 7.30pm) to an hour-long review of the march (Wilkerson, 2014).

did not necessarily occur as a result of African Americans' hatred of white people, but of the frustrations experienced as a result of inequality and lack of progress on education, housing and employment; areas where blacks had been confined by the institutions that whites[38] had created and maintained.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders provides a detailed summary of the riots that occurred in various American cities during 1967. Its findings offer relatively thorough accounts of riots in Newark, Detroit and New Brunswick and highlight that the patterns of disorder 'involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority and property in Negro neighborhoods [sic.] – rather than against white persons.' (1968: 5) The report also clarifies the use of the term 'ghetto' throughout as an area characterised by 'poverty and acute social disorganization, and inhabited by members of a racial or ethnic group under conditions of involuntary segregation' (28). In further examining the root causes of the unrest of 1967, the report presents a number of chapters exploring the factors and events that contributed to the riots. Citing 'white racism' (9) as solely responsible, the report lists the formation of racial ghettos, unemployment, family structure, social disorganisation and conditions in the ghettos as being contributory factors. It is worth noting some of the key statistics and findings of the report in order to highlight the lack of progress that had been made in terms of achieving equality for African-Americans. The vast majority of African American population growth (98%) was occurring in cities, whilst white population growth was occurring in suburban areas. Moreover, even in these cities, white residential areas were excluding African Americans through 'discriminatory practices' (11). Unemployment in the African American population was double that in the white population, with the former being three times more likely to be in the lowest paid, unskilled jobs resulting in 40.6% of the non-white population living below

[38] It is worth noting that using the term 'whites' in this manner does not account for the various factors that diversify this grouping, for example gender or class. The employment of the term in this context is to reiterate that those who possessed the ability to reinforce systematic oppression were indeed those who had benefitted from the privileges that their race had afforded.

the poverty level (compared to 11.9% of the white population.) The resultant effect is clear; 'in one city one low-income Negro district had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as a high-income white district' (12).

Arrested during the riots on charges of carrying a concealed weapon (Berger, 2009) Le Roi Jones, a prominent civil rights campaigner and writer stated:

> We understand that this unrest was a retaliation against the forces of oppression, brutality and legalised evil that exist within the city of Newark and that we citizens have the right to rebel against an oppressive, illiterate governmental structure that does not even represent our will. […] We will govern ourselves or no one will!
>
> (Jones in Marwick, 1998:578)

The script of the original production of *Hair* states that Le Roi Jones is the leader of the 'group of Negroes' (Rado, Ragni in Richards, 1967: 460) that appear at the opening to the hallucination scene and he enters carrying a black power banner and a switchblade knife. The script indicates that he is also accompanied by 'Africans with blowguns and spears, dressed as natives in feathers […] some dirty, poor slaves' (Rado, Ragni in Richards, 1967: 460). Jones' scripted cry of; 'I cut yo' up. I hate you and your white mothers. I hope you all die and rot. You're all for shit' (Rado in Richards, 1979:460) is directed to the group of tribe members who are serenely dancing the minuet (indicating their white, European cultural heritage.) This group is presented as historical soldiers, reminiscent of those that fought in the Civil War and serve to highlight Claude's preoccupation with his draft into the Vietnam War. Following Jones' threat, the short scene culminates with the Negroes attacking and killing the white soldiers, singing the jubilant 'Abie, Baby'. The costume description of the Africans in this scene is illuminating and shows that the intention here was to portray the black characters as wild and untamed, the weapons of choice reinforcing the supposed primitive nature of the black slave. The inclusion of Le Roi Jones is particularly noteworthy. In her 1996 survey of racial politics in mass media, bell hooks notes that black characters who uphold the status quo are portrayed as 'rational, ethical, moral peacemakers who

help maintain law and order' whilst also noting however, that more frequently black characters are 'consistently portrayed as a little less ethical and moral than whites, not given to rational reasonable action.' (hooks in Counsell and Wolf, 2001:114). The script of the original production seems to suggest that a prominent civil rights campaigner of the era has been subjected to this form of stereotyping. Marwick observes that 'given his own ideological position, [Jones] exaggerated the extent to which the riot was an organised rebellion' (1998:578) and noted that the rioters exercised considerable discipline, even though there was a great deal of looting. Jones' (later writing as Amiri Baraka) own prose poems point to the activities of the Newark riots:

> All the stores will open up if you will say the magic words. The magic words are: Up against the wall mother fucker this is a stick up! Or: Smash the window at night (these are magic actions) smash the windows daytime, anytime, together, let's smash the window drag the shit from in there.
>
> (Jones in Grundy, 2014)

Jones's scripted cry of; 'I cut yo' up. I hate you and your white mothers. I hope you all die and rot. You're all for shit' (Rado in Richards, 1979:460) appears to echo the general style of language used in his poetry, but it is clear that the exhortation to loot is significantly different to that proposed in the script of *Hair*. Jones' passionate words in the script of *Hair* point to hatred for white people and suggest death at the hands of black murderers; Jones is portrayed as 'less ethical and moral' and certainly 'not given to rational reasonable action.'

The polarised presentation of racial issues is further reinforced in the music used in the first section of this scene. The fictional and political characters that have been introduced during the roll call, dance together to a section of music entitled 'Minuet'. However, the music does not feature the most common elements of the minuet. In its original 17th century form, the minuet was written in triple time and in binary form. The initial section of music consisted of eight bars which were repeated; the second section was often expanded. The score shows a section of

music, eight bars long (with optional repeat marks) but is written in duple time and features an alberti bass in the bass clef and a chord progression centred around the tonic and dominant. The title of the piece is perhaps somewhat misleading and is used to refer only to the dramatic action on stage; the members of the roll call perform a stately dance, reminiscent of the social dances of the 17th century French court. The music here is used to represent and establish European ideals; the refined nature of the dance should exude 'courtliness' and 'grace' (Taubert in Russell, 2006: 146). The melody however, also features the addition of a flattened seventh. This altered tone, referred to as a 'blues note' is a common feature of jazz and blues music, and stems from work songs; the blues note was often used to add colour to the 'shouting, whining, moaning, speaking, or growling' (Southern, 1997:336) the singer used to express pain or suffering. The minuet seems to hint at an impeding 'invasion' and this is indeed the case, when the music abruptly ends on the subdominant chord and the group of 'Negroes' enter. Here, the scientific, ordered nature of both the music and the dance of the minuet is juxtaposed against the supposed wild, untamed savagery of the African. This is communicated through costume, lyrics and music. The score refers to the group as 'African Witch Doctors' and offers three bars of ad-lib written in 6/8 time entitled 'African Drums.' Although the score only indicates that drums are to be played for this segment of music, the list of percussion suggested in orchestral details of the score is comprehensive; bongo drums, conga drum, cabasa, maracas, quica [*sic*] and claves all appear. The inclusion of such instruments is particularly unusual for a Broadway score in the late sixties and appears to reflect one of the key features of the 'heterogeneous sound ideal' (1999: 160) that Wilson refers to in his survey of African-American music. He proposes that contrasting qualities of timbre are the ideal in such music and this is often reflected in using contrasting instruments in two groups in order to create a myriad of sounds. In percussion ensembles, he highlights that there are often two groups of instruments, each performing a separate and distinct function; group one is the fixed rhythmic group (responsible for time keeping) and group two, the

variable rhythmic group. The instruments used in group one are often metallic instruments, rattles or sticks (in *Hair* this would be the claves, wood blocks and temple blocks). The variable rhythm group provides a 'rhythmic clash or disagreement of accents' (1999:159), establishing two strata of sounds and thus, contrasting timbre. The inclusion of such a vast array of percussion instruments of contrasting timbre in the score of *Hair* would suggest that the heterogeneous sound ideal is being emulated, providing the fundamental rhythmic timbre and blueprint for African American music. The presence of the rock band adds an extra dimension and symbolises the representation of both black and white musical histories. At this point in the score however, the rock band remain silent, giving way to the African American sound and reinforcing the visual image of untamed, savage 'Negroes' overthrowing the whites.

The original script of the off-Broadway production also features the following chant:

> Walla walla/goona goona
> Miobie/manatoga
> Gooba gooba/voodoo waba
>
> (Rado, Ragni in Richards, 1979:460)

The lyrics indicate that what is being chanted here are nonsense syllables that give the effect of an savage form of speech, one that is certainly not recognised by white people. But they are not merely nonsense, the language used here is extremely racist suggesting that the language of black people is substandard, primitive and poorly formed. The final line is of particular interest. The mention of 'voodoo' is one that would perhaps evoke imagery of fear, of the unknown, which contrasts this religious, cultural practice against the protestant, Christian religious practices upon which America was founded. Southern (1997) mentions that 'voodoo seems to have flourished in pockets of the South', predominantly in New Orleans, the likely result of Haitian refugees (139). The term 'voodoo' originates from 'vodun'; a West African religion which forms the basis for religions

with similar names which were transported to the Americas. The music that accompanied the rituals of voodoo consisted of percussionists 'sitting astride of a cylinder made of thin cypress staves hooped with brass and headed by a sheepskin' (140) with several drummers all banging the same cylinder. This is a powerful image to use at this point in the musical. It serves as a reminder of difference; the difference between the white protestant class and the mysterious religious rituals of black cultures. The refined nature of the minuet is juxtaposed with the savage imagery of both the African chant and the percussive African drums, and the images serve and perpetuate the interests of colonialist ideology. This technique, along with the others discussed above, has firmly established the separation period; where difference is asserted and the behaviour of the black characters signifies their detachment from the social structure. The following two songs then function as the liminal phase and explore the possibilities for the third phase; assimilation.

Bush-Jones proposes that whether musicals had 'avoided racial stereotypes or played into them, they all depicted African-Americans' differences from whites' (2003:203). Although this difference is often highlighted through song, vocal moments can also prove to be restorative. These two songs in the second act present a stark contrast. The former reminds African American observers of their separation from the white dominant class; the latter functions as a moment of liminality for the black observer. It is particularly poignant that this is done through song, rather than through dramatic action alone as the integral role that song played throughout the history of the West African race, and subsequently the African American race (transplanted by slavery) is one that is charted extensively by scholars.

In her comprehensive survey of the music of black Americans, Eileen Southern notes that during the slave trade period 'for almost every activity in the life of the individual or the community [in West Africa] there was an appropriate music; it was an integral part of life from the hour of birth to beyond the grave.' (1997:5). Although this musical culture was varied, Southern argues that there was an

'identifiable heritage' that was carried to the New World, and the importance of both music and dance were commonalities shared by the slaves in the colonies. The civil rights activist and sociologist, W.E.B. Du Bois refers to the African folk song as, 'the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people' (1903), further expanding his observations to recognise that the 'gift' is one of both story and song. Du Bois recognised that the marriage of lyrics and music in the Negro folk song that developed under slavery on American plantations performed two functions; the lyrics served as a reminder of the hardship endured by African Americans and the music provided 'soft, stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land.' (1903).

In his book, *Disintegrating the Musical*, Arthur Knight highlights the problematic nature of Du Bois' use of the word 'gift', suggesting that the word connotes something which is shared or given away. In this sense, control of such a gift proves complex; sharing such folk music with white Americans increases the risk of the latter party appropriating it for commercial (amongst other) ends. This was indeed the case when minstrelsy became one of the most popular forms of stage entertainment in the United States. The 'gift' was not shared willingly and it was often the case that when work songs 'reache[d] the ear of a white amateur', they were 'written down, amended (that is, almost spoilt), printed, and then put upon a course of rapid dissemination, to cease only with the utmost bounds of Anglo-Saxondom.' (Kinnard in Southern, 1997:93). However, these same minstrel companies also trained and employed a number of black actors. Although minstrel shows forced black actors to 'perpetuate the genre's derogatory stereotypes of black life' (Woll, 1989:2), they also offered rare employment opportunities. Lorini (1999) states that 'wearing the mask was also a means of social mobility for many black performers. By presenting audiences with their own racial caricatures and making them laugh, these black performers gained economic success' (172). In time, a number of black performers (most notably, singers) were able to re-appropriate blackness through their performance of

certain musical theatre standards; Billie Holiday's 1937 recording of 'Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man' from *Showboat* is an excellent example.

The opening lyrics of the scene featuring 'Yes, I's Finished' highlight one of the dangers of misappropriation and are written in a pastiche of Pidgin English, referring directly to the incarceration of black slaves on Southern plantations:

> Yes, **I's** finished on **y'all's** farmlands/with **yo'** boll weevils and all/
> Pluckin' **y'all's** chickens/fryin' Mother's Oats in grease/
> **I's** free now, thanks to **yo'** massa Lincoln/
> Emancipator of the slave.
>
> (Rado, Ragni, 1967:127-8)

Such lyrics would resonate with black audiences of the late sixties. They highlight the freedom that emancipation promised but had not yet been delivered as a result of the social conditions still experienced in American society; the denial of equality and the use of enforced social poverty with a view to maintaining the economic and social order. These lyrics also highlight one of the issues when a white man writes for blacks. Using the musical *Show Boat* as a case study, Knapp (2005) suggests that writing black dialect in prose represents a way in which blacks are 'kept in their place' (190) as the lyrics appear to be substandard. He counters this argument somewhat by reminding us that a black performer may often negotiate such performances, recreating the part to produce a character that appears to be more faithful and accurate, thus subverting the writing through performance. However, this appears not to be entirely the case in the *Hair* cast recordings of both 1968 and 2009. In both versions, the rhythmic stresses of the melody appear to allow the performers to over-emphasise those elements of the lyrics that are written in black dialect (highlighted previously in bold). In both cases, the performers seem to be aware that they are recreating a stereotypical black character. Here, the perpetuation of such stereotypes is for a specific purpose; it serves to reinforce the separation period.

When examined in isolation, the lyrics appear to be written in the style of a work song. Such songs accompanied the work conducted by slaves on plantations. The lyrics of such songs often reflected, in detail, the task being executed or were sung to accompany the journey to or from the site of labour. The following lyrics illustrate such a song:

> All them pretty gals will be there,
> Shuck that corn before you eat;
> They will fix it for us rare,
> Shuck that corn before you eat.
> I know that supper will be big,
> Shuck that corn before you eat;
> I think I smell a fine roast pig,
> Shuck that corn before you eat…
>
> (Brown in Southern, 1997:164)

The lyrics describe the tasks that await the slaves, the monotony of their daily chores apparent in the repetition of 'shuck that corn before you eat'. Similarly, songs that were sung at the end of the day (referred to as 'Quittin' Time' songs) featured a description of work that had been conducted throughout the day. The lyrics of this work song appear to be much more 'white' than those indicated in the score of *Hair*, suggesting perhaps that this type of music existed within a 'larger multicultural social context [..] influenced in several ways by non-black musical traditions.' (Wilson, 1999: 158)

The lyrics of the corn-shucking song above indicate a regular metre and the use of call and response. Floyd notes other characteristics of the first recorded work songs; 'weak beat accents against the normally strong beats of the 4/4 meter, […] grunts and moans as part of their expressive vocabulary and […] overlapping call-and-response constructions' (1995:50). Whilst similarly written in duple time, 'Yes, I's Finished' bears little musical resemblance to such work songs, even though the lyrics appear to suggest otherwise. The new Broadway cast recording

of 2009 features the introduction played on a banjo with accompaniment provided by a tambourine; instruments that were favoured in the accompaniment of minstrel songs, but also present in the music-making of blacks during the colonial period.[39] This addition of instruments in the most recent revival might indicate that the parody of black stereotype presented in the lyrics needed further accentuation in an era where the struggle for equal rights was ostensibly less pronounced. The tempo of the music coupled with the instrumentation used suggest that the song may well be a parody of minstrelsy. The aim of minstrelsy was essentially to 'reproduce the life of the plantation darky' and mimic the 'Negro peculiarities of song.' (Christy in Southern, 1997: 92). Southern later notes that minstrels visited plantations to obtain source material for their shows, 'the melodies they heard served as bases for minstrel songs, and they adapted the dance they saw to their needs.' (ibid.).

Knight proposes that one way to avoid the issues of adaptation and misappropriation is to conjoin sight with sound; 'the musical, then, could not only represent African-Americans performing; it could also present stories that purported […] to explain why African-Americans would (or should) perform music.' (2002:7). Such an approach ensures that where possible, folk music (or imitations of) is assigned to characters in such a way that a natural or realistic representation is achieved. In 'Yes, I's Finished', the song is assigned to a quartet of male black members of the tribe, not to white performers using burnt cork to imitate blackface. Using the latter would have ensured that the song is read as a parody, but assigning the music to black characters allows for a re-appropriation of language and forms that were previously used by white people to denigrate blacks. By weaving together the lyrics, song and visual elements, 'Yes, I's Finished' presents a story which explains exactly why African Americans *should* perform this style of music in this context. MacDermot states that several of the songs and

[39] Wilson (1999) argues that the choice of these kind of instruments, even though they were adopted by the minstrel parodies favoured by white people, represent the 'heterogeneous sound ideal' in terms of sound texture in African-American music.

scenes 'hit at racial stereotypes' and because of the prominence of the civil rights campaign during the sixties it was important that the songs 'addressed the issues of racial stereotypes'. (2003). The insertion of the final line ('Emanci-mother-fuckin'-pator of the slaves') would suggest that the creators of *Hair* intended to address such racial stereotypes. The message here is one that echoes the message of the civil rights movement; freedom from the plantation may have been granted but there is still much more to do until total equality is achieved. The sight of the performer, coupled with the lyrics are a reminder of the hardship endured by African Americans and therefore offers a context for the song ('Abie Baby') which follows.

The opening section of 'Abie Baby' segues directly into a doo-wop version of the Gettysburg address, performed in the style of the vocal group 'The Platters'. Doo-wop music features close vocal harmonies and is heavily influenced by gospel music. A forerunner of the rhythm and blues quartets of the fifties and sixties, gospel quartets began to emerge out of the southern states of America. Used as the basis for church worship, the spiritual became the focus of the music used by the civil rights movement, effectively becoming 'unabashed protest music' (Floyd, 1995:171). Floyd explains the emerging role of the spiritual as protest music and links this directly to the activities of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), noting that church choirs were frequently broadcast on the radio and therefore the style of music had entered the black public consciousness.[40] Referring to the Cleveland-based group, 'Wings Over Jordan Choir', Floyd proposes that the choir's:

> popularity among both black and whites, its refusal to accommodate segregation at its concerts, its stature as a radio-network fixture, and its presentation of the spirituals both as culturally viable aesthetic expressions and as songs of freedom, faith, and documentation, set the precedent and the context for southern protest activity among blacks in the 1950s. (1995:172)

[40] By the mid-sixties approximately one hundred and ninety-five radio stations across the United States broadcast programmes featuring gospel music.

Although by 1947, the 'Wings Over Jordan' radio network slot had been cancelled, their weekly programme had been syndicated by CBS and their broadcasts 'were used as a way to sneak information past the indifference of white station owners' (Barnett, 2008). It is uncertain as to whether these programmes garnered a regular white audience, but their influence on black communities across America was significant; 'the messages that they [the choir] sang gave the black people hope', stating 'on Sunday morning, we became citizens of the United States, because we could turn on that radio and we could hear this singing, and there was no mistaking – these were black people.' (Turner-Thompson and Boyer in Barnett, 2008).

Throughout the 1940s, these gospel choirs developed into vocal quartets, trios and duos. The repertoire of such groups varied little from that of the gospel choirs, but the size of the groups now meant that the music could be more easily recorded, reaching a much wider audience. Written in 12/8, (a popular metre of the style and period) the songs recorded featured call and response, bent notes, melismatic vocal ad-lib and melodic and harmonic repetition which focused mainly on chords I, IV and V (which together were the chords of the blues). During the late forties, the recordings of these groups 'spread the techniques of gospel quartet throughout the core culture' (Floyd, 1995: 175) which ultimately influenced the music of the fifties. The addition of nonsense syllables performed by accompanying vocals, set against a lead vocal line occurred during this period. Referred to as the 'clanka-lanka' technique, 'instrumentally derived sounds such as "doo-wop" [and] "ooh-waa"' (ibid.) provided a rhythmic accompaniment to support the lead singer. Darden (2005) also notes the freedom of the bass line, which often moved against the rhythm of the other vocal parts.

Floyd proposes that 'the wide adoption of such devices in the 1950s effected a community between the music of the newer secular quartets and that of the older ones' and that the doo-wop street corner quartets 'emerged to crystallize the style' (1995:175). Throughout this decade, many of the major cities in America featured 'highly competitive street-corner singing.' (Werner, 2004:68). Groups of

young men congregated on street corners and would perform a capella, attempting to establish a reputation and often competing for both vocal and geographic territory. By the time the *Billboard* charts had incorporated a separate rhythm and blues chart (1949), many doo-wop groups had successfully crossed over into the mainstream and their records were often placed in the top ten best-selling hits on the US chart. Brackett in his 2003 essay surveying African American popular music, notes that the categorisation of the rhythm and blues *Billboard* chart in itself indicates the position of African Americans in US society. 'The instability of the nomenclature used to describe "black music"' (Brackett in Clayton et al, 2003:241) is not only exclusively linked to race, but also reflects the position of African American (and other marginal) voices in society. He further proposes that 'the process of crossover indicates that the category of African American popular music exists as a colony for the mainstream, producing goods that may then circulate,' (2003: 250) and highlights that these alternative standards meant that black artists often had to prove their success on the rhythm and blues chart before they could achieve any semblance of success on the mainstream chart. However, it is worth noting that this success was not achieved as a result of radio airplay as the mainstream charts registered jukebox play and record purchases. Brackett states that the crossover artists were unlikely to have been heard on radio stations by white audiences as the dissemination of their music was still controlled by white controllers of radio stations.

Floyd chronicles the early fifties as being a period when such artists as the Platters, the Dominoes and the Shirelles had reached popularity 'outside the core culture' (1995:177). This was certainly the case with The Platters; released in July 1955, their first hit record 'Only You' held the number one spot on the rhythm and blues chart for seven weeks and subsequently held the number five slot on the mainstream chart for thirty weeks; indication that they had to prove their success on the 'alternative' chart before achieving success 'outside the core culture.' In November 1955, the Platters reached the number one spot on both the rhythm

and blues and the mainstream US charts with their second song; 'The Great Pretender'.

The rich history of African American singing groups is emulated in the score of *Hair.* MacDermot draws on these traditions to provide the music for perhaps the most powerful moment in the musical for the African American characters. The similarities between the music of the street singing groups (which was later transported into the mainstream popular music culture) and the song 'Abie Baby' are striking.

Although written in common metre, the triplets of the accompaniment in both 'The Great Pretender' and 'Abie Baby' suggest a 12/8 feel. The inclusion of triplets allows for the songs to be played as swing, rather than a march. It is this same swing rhythm (in 'The Great Pretender') that became the forerunner for rock and roll. The chord progressions of both songs are also based on the common progressions found in doo-wop music (I-IV-V). MacDermot provides a slight adjustment to this progression by incorporating the minor relative of chord IV, briefly passing through chord vi (as shown in bars 24 and 25). The tempo marking of 'slow' on the score (and adhered to on the original Broadway cast recording) indicates a speed much more in line with that of 'The Great Pretender'; in contrast, the new Broadway cast recording of 2009 offers a much brisker tempo but also adds a prominent, independently moving vocal bass part, which is omitted from the Platters hit and is not present in the original cast recording. The original recording copies the slow, sustained vocal harmonic parts popular in the style of music associated with black singing groups of the fifties and sixties and appears to be more heavily influenced by the contemporary music of that era. In an interview in 2003, MacDermot remarks that as a result of living in Africa for some years, and drawing from the influence of black musicians he worked with when moving to New York, he made every attempt to use the style of African music, coupled with rhythm and blues to produce a rock and roll score, rather than a score influenced by Broadway. He further remarks that the songs were not written as choral songs and much of the harmony was influenced by the cast.

Although MacDermot had 'borrowed an African sound' (Davis, 1973:38) the language of the music was one that was also largely determined by the African Americans in the cast, which would suggest that the harmonies created in the original recording result in a more 'authentic' sound, influenced by contemporary African American music. Davis' choice of the word 'borrowed' is quite illuminating. Even though MacDermot studied music in Africa for three years, it appears to a black member of the cast that he is appropriating a sound that may not belong to him. However, throughout the twentieth century African American music-making existed in a multicultural environment where it would have influenced and been influenced by external factors and other traditions. Rather than consider this an intercultural exchange, Davis views MacDermot's score as an intercultural borrowing. The dangers of intercultural borrowing are apparent in previous discussions of minstrelsy; there appears to be a wariness in her remarks that points to previous moments in time where white people have appropriated elements of 'blackness' for their own gain, often resulting in mockery and insult.

Close vocal harmony and the 'nonsense' syllables of the clanka-lanka technique used in doo-wop are also present; a solo artist delivers the Gettysburg address, supported by a quartet of male backing singers. The address is delivered by the tribe member playing Abraham Lincoln. In the original Broadway production and subsequent revivals, this role has been played by a black female (which I will discuss in the chapter relating to gender), often with the addition of a white tribe member shining Lincoln's shoes. It is interesting to note however, that this scene does not appear in the original off-Broadway script. Here, Lincoln has been subdued by the black tribal members and the preceding section ('Yes, I's Finished on Y'alls Farmlands') is sung with one of the members 'standing over the dead bodies, with his foot on Abraham Lincoln's chest, very happy.' (Rado, Ragni in Richards, 1979:460). It is quite possible that, in 1968, this scene was altered and adapted for the more commercial audiences of Broadway theatres. This was not an isolated practice and there are several accounts of Broadway composers and book writers altering the script and content of their musicals to suit a more

commercial audience.[41] This may have indeed been the case with this scene in *Hair* and rather than allow the black character to subdue the white character, the scene was instead developed to provide a more idealistic version which draws on history to find a common voice for both black and white audiences.

The racial and gendered substitution in the performance of Lincoln presents a moment of liminality; the social hierarchy evident in the previous scene has been reversed and the performers have been 'stripped of their old identities.' (Loxley, 2006:156). The moment presents not only the opportunity for audiences (specifically black audiences) to reflect on the history of slavery and segregation but hints at 'possible changes and transformations of [the] society' (156).

In his essay analysing film musicals as entertainment, Richard Dyer proposes that the two functions of entertainment; escape and wish-fulfilment, suggest that the 'central thrust' of musicals is utopianism (Dyer in Nichols, 2002: 222). The main tenet of the argument here is that entertainment does not present models of utopian worlds and how they would be organised, but instead presents utopianism through the feelings that the musical embodies. Although his essay analyses film musicals, Dyer's argument could apply to stage productions as he proposes that this is largely achieved through non-representational signs, predominantly (but not exclusively) through music and movement. Such non-representational signs acquire their signification 'in relation to the complex of meanings in the socio-cultural situation in which they are produced' (2002:223). The delivery of the Gettysburg Address at this point in the musical offers both representational and non-representational signifiers of a utopian world. For the African American audience, the visual signifier of a black cast member playing the role of the American president is a powerful one; it offers a potential model of how a better world may be organised. The racial substitution of this role continues in the 2009 Broadway revival, first staged two months after the

[41] One such example can be seen in *South Pacific*. Bush Jones (2003) details how Hammerstein had to 'dramatize[d] his advocacy' of interracial harmony and notes that 'the integrity of his vision was compromised for the sake of commercial success.' (153).

inauguration of America's first black president. Whilst the socio-cultural situation may have changed significantly in relation to the original Broadway production, the timing of the production, so early in the administration, still suggests the promise of an improved world, but one that with the advent of a black President, is now closer to reality.

Dyer also notes the role that subordinate groups (women, blacks) in society play in developing and defining entertainment; rather than 'reproduc[ing] unproblematically patriarchal capitalist ideology,' the performers themselves are in an appropriate position to 'determine the form of the product' (2002:222). This is evidenced in the inclusion of ad-libbing throughout the score of *Hair* and is catalogued by several cast members in the rehearsal process of the show. In the two bars that accompany the Gettysburg address the only scoring offered is that of the vocal harmony of the male quartet of backing singers. The score indicates the opening and closing lines of the speech and the performer is instructed to deliver this as spoken dialogue. In the original Broadway production, the address is delivered in spoken form and whilst the speech is not scripted, the cast recording indicates that a large portion of the address is ad-libbed, with various interjections added by the performer; 'sock it to 'em baby, you're sounding better all the time.' Perhaps more interesting to note is the delivery of this address in the 2009 Broadway revival. This performance is sung with the addition of numerous melismatic ad-libs, echoing the style of doo-wop music. The vocal line soars over the texture of the accompanying vocals and works toward the climax of the address, 'all men are created equal' which is performed in the highest register of the soloist's tessitura.

The addition of a black vocal style in the revival is noteworthy. In his book, *The Performative Sustainability of Race*, Bryant Keith Alexander proposes that 'culture is *doing,* race is *being* and *performance* plays a similar yet alternating role in the accomplishment of social membership in both' (2012:23). He argues that 'whiteness' has to be acknowledged as something that is equally as performative as 'blackness', whilst highlighting that it is through the performance of whiteness

that 'the image of the American dream is upheld.' (Brinks in Alexander, 2012:26). In the original Broadway cast recording, where the Gettysburg Address is spoken, it is only the backing group of singers that signify 'blackness' through their doo-wop vocals and harmony and it is not until the final line of dialogue ('Bang? Bang? Shit, I'm not dying for no white man') that we are presented with a representational sign that the role of Lincoln is being played by an African-American. However, it is clear that the performance of 'whiteness' here can only be assumed in relation to the aural representation of its opposite, the two are presented in relation to each other. Wildman points out that 'discussions about race are usually constructed along this bipolar axis, making many of the dynamics of social construction of race invisible and thereby perpetuating white privilege.' (Wildman in Alexander, 2012:24). The visual representations of the character of Lincoln in this scene may be clear, but the performance of the Gettysburg Address appears to be one that is grounded in the performance of whiteness; the words, by association, suggest the white dominant class. Even though this role has been played by a black performer, the inclusion of such words when juxtaposed against the visual image of blackness still present a bipolar axis which serves to reinforce white privilege (mainly because of the historical resonance of such words.) The 2009 Broadway revival cast recording manages to use the black female voice to add an aural representation to the visual signifier. Wilson notes that the African-American voice is to be used as percussively as possible when singing. Referring to the hollers, cries and moans which feature in African music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he argues that such sounds also made it easier for the performer to move from singing to speaking effortlessly. This can be heard clearly in the 2009 cast recording. The example below indicates how easily the shift occurs (areas that are spoken are highlighted):

> ***Four score,*** I said, four score and seven years ago.
> Our forefathers, ***and I mean all our forefathers,*** brought forth on this continent a new nation.
>
> (Sengbloh, 2009)

It is also interesting to note that all of the black characters of the Tribe in the 2009 Broadway cast sound distinctively 'black' when contrasted against the 'legit' voices, trained specifically for the Broadway stage. In his 2004 journal article, Olwage traces the history of the black voice, noting the 'paradox of the black choral voice sounding "against the grain" of metropolitan voice culture' (208-209). He proposes that the black voice is an 'act of resistance, a refusal of the colonizing efforts to reform the voice' (210). The very act of vocal pedagogy is to train, to change the voice and Olwage succinctly points out that it is this act that is committed to the 'erasure of difference' (207). This is exemplified in the training of performers for the musical theatre stage, the erasure of difference can be heard quite clearly in the 'legit' voice so desired for the Broadway stage. This was certainly a feature of many Broadway productions during the mid-twentieth century.[42] However, this was not the case in the original productions of *Hair* (both off and on Broadway). MacDermot (2003) states that Rado and Ragni specifically wanted a 'different type of singer' in their original cast; the composer himself wanted pop and soul singers. Steering clear of the Broadway voice, the creators chose performers predominantly based on their look; the original Crissy (Shelley Plimpton) was working as a hat stand girl in a nightclub when she was spotted by Rado and Ragni. This is perhaps in itself indicative of the creators of *Hair* rejecting established values; a counter-cultural act exacted against established Broadway traditions. Although it could be argued that racially linked timbres further perpetuate the stereotyping of black characters, it could be considered that the timbral differences produced by the black voices in all of the cast recordings is a further rejection of established values; an act of resistance against the legit voice and against the performance of whiteness.

Stating that twentieth century African American vocal music is 'highly developed' and 'imaginative', Wilson also recognises that a great deal of African American popular music forms work towards a goal where a 'spontaneous response from

[42] In an online article, Pines, particularly highlights *My Fair Lady, Camelot* and *The Boyfriend* as excellent examples of the legit sound.

the audience' is demanded (1999:169). In the original recording of *Hair,* this is somewhat manufactured through the addition of spoken lines, such as 'Sock it to 'em baby, you're sounding better all the time'. In the 2009 cast recording of *Hair* this goal is prepared for in the musical phrase 'all men are created equal', where the perfect cadence is delayed for six bars and the vocalist explores the full range of her tessitura, ending in the highest register. When the phrase resolves into 'happy birthday, Abie baby', this creates a 'moment of collective catharsis [which is] extremely important in reinforcing a sense of cultural solidarity' (Wilson, 1999:169). This moment of cultural solidarity eradicates the binary opposition of race to a degree; the signifiers (predominantly costume and lyrics) which point to Lincoln are of course, inherent but they have receded as a result of 'a reenaction of a text or a style or culturally specific response in a different medium.' (Diawara in Alexander, 2012:31). The choice to perform the text in a different medium (i.e. song, rather than speech) is potent as Alexander notes that even in 2009, in the presence of an African American president, 'the idealized image of being an American is still linked with Whiteness.' (2012:25).

The sound created by Saycon Sengbloh in the revival is reminiscent of the female soul singers of the sixties and early seventies and the connection with such singers, particularly Aretha Franklin, has been subliminally suggested to the audience in the roll call at the beginning of the scene.[43] This moment presents the audience with a black, female archetype. Laurie Stras in her introduction to *She's so Fine; Reflections on whiteness, femininity, adolescence and class in 1960s music* argues that 'the popularity of girl singers allowed young African American women, […] to be socially visible for the first time, and on a grand scale.' Powerful role models in terms of behaviour and attitude, these female icons helped to shape a generation of black women. Without such icons, she proposes that 'later feminist voices, both black and white, would not have been heard quite so loudly or effectively' (2011:8). The style of the vocal performance is inextricably linked to

[43] Franklin is included in the line-up of historical figures presented to the audience at the start of the hallucination scene which frames the Gettysburg address.

the soul sound produced by many of the popular black vocalists of the sixties. Aretha Franklin is one of several African American popular vocalists 'noted not only for voices that have highly distinctive timbres but also for their musical sensitivity and use of timbral nuances in expressively powerful ways at precisely the right moment' (Wilson, 1999: 169). The addition of the melismatic vocal ad-libs at this point highlights such timbral nuances and has ensured that the song is firmly rooted in its rhythm and blues origins.

The racial substitution in the scene 'Abie Baby' illustrates the utopian nature of American mythology, a mythology based on the American dream which reiterates the notion of always striving to be better. In this context, it presents African American audiences with a brief moment of 'wish fulfilment', a vision of a better world where the recognition of equality presents possibility and reinvention. Unlike Dyer, Loxley argues that the importance of such moments must not be diminished to mere fantasy or entertainment and that by invoking the possible, the potential power of performance 'to accomplish permanent changes' (2006: 156) is recognised.

Lorrie Davis' account of playing Abraham Lincoln considers how the change of status for the black tribe member playing this role was perceived by both the audience and others in the cast. Members of the cast considered this performance to be 'the first bit of black power on Broadway', whilst Davis herself recalls audience members being 'riled' during this scene. One cast member observed 'If you say it like Aunt Jemima,[44] it's OK. But when you run it down like it is, they don't want to hear it. It's no longer funny.' (1973:241). The mention of this caricature implies that black women were only ever fit to fulfil the role of domestic worker, further promulgated by the branding of the mammy character through Aunt Jemima becoming the face of several household goods. The cast member's comment makes the association clear; the views of a black American

[44] The character of the 'mammy', Aunt Jemima was first presented in 1875, when Billy Kersands, a famous minstrel star, wrote a song entitled 'Old Aunt Jemima'. The mammy caricature is that of a plump black woman who appeared to be a content and faithful slave to the white master.

are only accepted into the discourse when expressed in a subservient fashion that has the interests of the white dominant class at its centre, much as the mammy figure was only concerned with the interests of the white slave-owning family for whom she worked.

By the end of 'Abie Baby', the numerous stereotypes that have been affixed to the black members of the tribe during this scene have been stripped away and the audience is presented with the proposition that 'all men (read: black, women) are created equal.' The status of the individual performer and by association, African Americans, has been changed (signalling Van Gennep's liminal phase) and the potentiality for the everyday world to reflect similar changes, to reinvent and renew itself, is presented.

Dolan (2005) suggests that the emotions experienced when watching theatrical performance allow audiences to consider how a better world might feel and look, and that this, in itself, may stimulate social change. Performance can 'experiment with the possibilities of the future in ways that shine back usefully on a present that's always, itself, in process' (13). This is exemplified in the scenes in *Hair* that deal with racial issues. Each scene spotlights the present struggles of African Americans, in many cases, reaching further back into history to define these struggles with greater clarity and dramatic intensity. Such scenes allow for both the performer and the audience to explore the possibilities of what their future world may look like. It is quite possible that in 1967, in a climate where the fight for civil rights was firmly fixed in the public consciousness, no black performer or observer considered that a black president would reside in the White House within their lifetime. The very nature of progressive social movements enables 'participants to imagine something different, to realize that things need not always be this way' (Kelley in Dolan, 2005: 64). Imagining a better future or an alternative world speaks to the fundamental concepts of utopia. The utopian nature of *Hair* lies in its efforts to present the physical details of African American culture in such a way that they function as markers of difference and separation in order to progress to the liminal moment that allows black people to consider the

possibilities of a future in which all ‘men’, regardless of race and colour, are created equal.

Chapter 3: *Hair* and Gender

> Gender *is* performance. As a cultural construct, made up of learned values and beliefs, gender identity (if one can posit such an absolute) has no ontological status. A variable charged with protean potential, the gendered body's performative aspects engage continuous re-examination and reassessment.
>
> (Senelick, 1992: ix)

In the previous chapter, I have argued that race is both represented and performed, and is constructed upon a bipolar axis on which blackness sits in binary opposition to whiteness. One is inherently privileged. In this chapter, I will adopt a similar premise to explore the ways in which gender is represented in *Hair,* through examining how the lead characters conform to, or subvert traditional normative behaviours. In doing so, I will identify how lead female characters appear to conform to normative notions of gender but will endeavour to consider this in the context of the early second wave feminist movement. What emerges is a slightly ambiguous approach to representing female gender on-stage, particularly in the examination of the character Sheila, and this will lead me to explore other characters in the ensemble. The chapter will also examine how *Hair* represents masculine identity on stage and will consider how the musical offers multiple masculinities which communicate a rather more fluid approach to the performance of gender.

As with race, gender is also understood in binary terms; again, male is privileged over female and the gendered subject is produced 'along a differential axis of domination.' However, as Butler suggests, this 'exclusive framework' requires reference to 'woman' as a subject that is stable, a delineation which conflates sex and gender. Considering 'woman' as a stable object thus separates the feminine from other power relations that constitute identity, for example, race, ethnicity and class, inexorably generating 'multiple refusals to accept the category' (Butler, 2006:2). This chapter seeks to identify the ways in which *Hair* deconstructs the binary notions of gender through playful, camp strategies which highlight such

multiple refusals. At the heart of Butler's argument is the proposition that gender is culturally, not biologically, constructed and therefore, to continue to position gender on the binary axis only serves to reinforce 'the belief in a mimetic relation of gender to sex whereby gender mirrors sex or is otherwise restricted by it' (2006:6). Salih expands by noting Butler's proposition that 'there is no "natural body" that pre-exists its cultural inscription' and this suggests that 'gender is not something one *is*, it is something one *does*, an act, or more precisely, a sequence of acts, a verb rather than a noun' (2002: 55). This certainly questions the proposition of woman as a stable object; these performative acts are unavoidably influenced and informed by other cultural power relations of class, race, ethnicity. This chapter will identify the ways in which *Hair* explores these power relations to highlight how gender is a cultural and political construct.

In his 2007 book entitled *Performativity*, Loxley – using language, which mirrors that of Hall – usefully summarises:

> …culture is the process of identity formation, the way in which bodies and selves in all their differences are produced. So culture is a process, a kind of making, and we are what is made and remade through that process. Our activities and practices, in other words, are not expressions of some prior identity […] but the very means by which we come to be what we are.
>
> (118)

Butler approaches the construction of gender through the concept of performativity; gender is performed through a series of repeated acts that either contest or conform to an expected gendered identity based on sex. Furthermore, the performativity of identity always offers the opportunity for 'dissonant or disruptive gestures' (Loxley, 2007:123); even in performing normative expectations of gender, there must be an imagining of that which is not performed, to serve as a reference point. This postmodernist approach to gender destabilises the notion of 'woman', and highlights subjectivity and fluidity, emphasising that gender is produced and reproduced through a variety of discourses. This rendering of the gendered self is further complicated when

presented on stage, 'where presentation invariably entails representation' (Senelick, 1992: ix). Performance 'fixes' something in the moment, it requires conscious choices and inevitably results in more emphatic, demarcated gender roles. This was certainly the case on the Broadway stage in the decades preceding *Hair.*

In her journal article, *Pretty Like the Girl: Gender, Race and Oklahoma!,* Susan Cook argues that the creators of the musical 'gendered their characters through text, music and movement'[45] (2009:35), often relegating their female characters to the realms of domesticity or placing them in either category of the virgin/whore trope. Such renderings also rely on the juxtaposition of 'masculine' and 'feminine', a binary opposition where one is only defined in relation to the other. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated in the opening scene and first entrance of Laurey, the central female character of the story of *Oklahoma!* Her entrance is accompanied by musical material previously stated by Curly, the lead male character. Here, Laurey is not afforded her own vocal introduction but instead, reprises his material, subsequently indicating that she is defined by her relationship to him. Cook's argument that 'like gender, musical meaning is not fixed as much as created in opposition' (39) certainly applies in this instance.

The Golden Age of musical theatre largely promoted the benefits of adhering to gender norms. The marriage trope is frequently used as a device to signify union and reconciliation and, as Knapp (2005 and 2006) notes, serves as a narrative framework, which mirrors larger conflicts on a micro-level and is upheld as (for the woman) the ultimate, attainable goal. In his book *Only Entertainment*, Dyer analyses the marriage trope in *The Sound of Music* and whilst highlighting this as the ultimate goal for the female lead character, Maria, also proposes that her marriage to Captain Von Trapp serves as an analogy for ideologies of nationalism and union. Similarly, Jeffrey Magee highlights the function of the marriage trope in the musicals of Irving Berlin, proposing that it represents the 'creation of a new

[45] She also notes that such gendering is done 'within a nostalgic frame of whiteness'.

social order'. Although this plot device has long-existed in literature, Magee points out that the 'Americanisation' of the plot archetype involves the 'developing love of two people from starkly different backgrounds, representing an idealized vision of a free society, a "more perfect union" than tends to be available in real life' (2014: 31-32).

However, Barnes (2015) develops this argument further by proposing that this 'love' story 'seems to be the *only* story ever told. Few female characters in musicals have careers or lives beyond their men' and where women remain single, they are either something to be 'feared or pitied' (42-43). Her work also cites musicals of the first two decades of the twenty-first century, indicating that this endemic problem is not one that specifically lies in the Golden Age; it is one that musical theatre continues to promulgate. In the 1960s however, with the advent of second wave feminism, this seems a rather out-dated mechanism to employ in the musical. The concurrent popularity in avant-garde theatre movements demonstrate 'attempts to reclaim the anti-social and disruptive elements of performance that confront and overthrow […] gender norms' (Selenick, 1992: xiii) and cultural performance became inextricably linked with the playing out of social drama; a reciprocal relationship explored in the work of Richard Schechner and Victor Turner. Their work outlined four stages that occur in social drama and it is the third stage (redress) that is of most interest in my analysis of female characters in *Hair.* Turner and Schechner argue that redressive responses can emerge from groups in society who wish to challenge and disrupt the normative social order and the second wave of feminism certainly aimed to do so in terms of women and their expected roles in society. I am interested in how theatre can be 'a laboratory for interrupting signification [. . .] thus alienating the spectator's processes of reading and being' (Diamond, 1987:7). In the age of *Hair,* this would mean challenging society's accepted understanding of cultural power relations concerned with race, gender, class and age.

By adopting this premise, *Hair* and its 'treatment' of female characters can be analysed. This chapter then, seeks to uncover ways in which the musical, *Hair*

addresses, redresses, and presents alternative considerations of normative gender roles. Its liberal and somewhat utopian approach to the representation of race indicates that the musical was concerned with addressing the social issues of the decade. In an era where both civil and feminist rights pervaded social consciousness, it is interesting to note *Hair's* somewhat inconsistent approach to the representation of women on-stage.

'Black Boys/White Boys'

In her 1991 publication, *The Age of Hair,* Barbara Lee Horn describes the women in this scene of the original production thus:

> Positioned on a ten-foot Plexiglas platform that glides toward the audience, the trio, attired in bouffant wigs and sexy-cheap sequined gowns, belt out a Supremes impersonation of 'White Boys', which they dedicate to Claude. The hilarious bit takes on added theatricality when the trio step apart and their seemingly three dresses are in fact one.
>
> (75)

With the exception of Elizabeth Wollman's article in *American Music Review*, existing work on the musical often fails to mention the role of women in the Tribe, their characters or the impact of the scenes they dominate. Wollman recognises that the paucity of material in this regard is perhaps because the show features, 'jarringly old-fashioned [. . .] depictions of women. Its sexism, however, helps shed light on the time and place *Hair* came from' (2014:1), which is a wholly appropriate analysis given that the article focuses largely on the role of Sheila and her relationship to Claude and Berger. Wollman, however, makes no mention of the 'Black Boys/White Boys' scene and instead chooses to analyse the song 'Donna' and the tone of female denigration established by Berger's ode to his 'sixteen-year-old virgin'. Wollman does however urge the reader to assess the material in order to gain a deeper understanding of *Hair's* cultural moment, therefore, it is important to establish the impact of female voices being heard so loudly on the Broadway stage in 1968.

In her study of female voices in opera and musical narrative in the nineteenth century, Carolyn Abbate argues that the sound of the singing voice becomes a 'voice-object'; the listener's attention is diverted from lyrics, plot and character, particularly in melismatic passages whereby language – and therefore, plot - is destroyed, along with character. Abbate proposes that the female becomes 'not a character-presence but an irrational nonbeing, terrifying because the locus of the voice is now not a character, not human, and somehow not present' (1996: 10-11). This proposition appears embedded in the work of Lacan, in rendering the voice as *objet a;* the voice sits somewhere between the language it utilises and the body producing it, but belongs to neither. However, Grant Olwage counters this proposition by asserting instead that the singing voice is part of the body, 'produced by body parts' and importantly, 'stands for the subject more directly than any other instrument' (2004: 206). He proposes that, in terms of race, this fact has often been overlooked largely due to the 'bodiliness of black musicking' (ibid.) being signified by dancing, which is perhaps evident in Wilson's addition of bodily movement as a central tenet of the heterogeneous sound ideal. Indeed, it is interesting to note that Wilson posits movement as an integral foundation of black 'sound'. Furthermore, Olwage argues that even when disembodied, the voice is 'easily-identifiable as belonging to a particular subject' (ibid.); it is therefore inextricably linked to both the individual and the social. Annette Schlichter develops this proposition further by stating that 'the act of producing a song should not be fully detached from the messiness of the social and cultural regimes it is embedded in', thus suggesting that the sonority of a voice is, in itself, political, and by consequence, questions the work of Butler which by focusing on lyrics, appears to 'disavow' the voice (2011: 34). Schlichter also proposes a 'feminist phonocentrism', which rejects assuming a natural relationship of the voice, (female) body and identity, instead asserting the voice is a 'metaphor of agency and self-representation [. . .] thereby allowing for an authentic self-presence' (38) which offers the opportunity to reject historical discourses that

persistently link the female voice to notions of madness, irrationality and absence of social and cultural authority.

In terms of representing that social and cultural authority on stage, Maya Cantu argues that many of the female characters in the early to mid-twentieth century musicals are merely adaptations of the Cinderella motif. Cantu brands Cinderella as a 'vexed icon for second-wave feminists' (2015:2) whilst noting that she has been an almost permanent fixture of the Broadway stage. The crux of the Cinderella paradigm is assimilation and therefore, useful to employ in many stories. Indeed, many of the female ballads of musical theatre of the golden age seem to echo the sentiments expressed in 'Some Day my Prince will Come'; the 'I want' song traditionally features a woman wanting a man and often represents women as 'martyrs to heterosexual love' (Barnes, 2015:41).[46] Although this often consigns female characters to a somewhat ancillary role, Cantu argues that the Cinderella icon also provided a mechanism through which 'a complex constellation of feminine cultural mythologies' could be explored (2015:3). Of the period preceding *Hair*, Cantu observes that although there were numerous contradictions about the 'proper' roles for American women during the 1950s, the Broadway 'Cinderella' musicals during this period featured a range of 'metamorphic narratives [which] reflected the era's pervasive desire for a makeover'; the fairy-tale icon appeared as 'both a reflection and a rebuttal of the feminine mystique: a ladylike ideal that female characters disrupted as much as they embodied' (2015:162).[47] Confusion regarding appropriate female roles was evident throughout society during the fifties; 'cultural contradictions accompanied professional ones [and] cultural icons contributed to the contradictions' (160-161).

As America entered the sixties, these contradictions remained and were voiced in Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique*, which, on publication, 'was one of those

[46] Examples of this may include; 'What's the Use of Wonderin'' (*Carousel,* 1945), 'Marry the Man Today' (*Guys and Dolls,* 1950) and 'My White Knight' (*The Music Man,* 1957).
[47] Cantu analyses *My Fair Lady, Gigi, Bells are Ringing* as illustrations of the 'sleeping prince' fable.

events which seem, in retrospect, to have divided the sixties from the fifties as the day from the night' (Menand, 2011). For all of the surrounding debate, which often clouds Friedan's contribution to the second wave of feminism, it is clear that 'the problem that has no name' struck a chord with many women and the personal, reflective language employed by the author ensured the success of the publication. First published in two magazines, thus ensuring a readership of thirty-six million, the book sold 1.4 million copies at first printing and entered the *Times* best-seller list. (ibid.) Friedan proposes that there was a crisis in woman's identity, undoubtedly largely borne from the many contradictory messages transmitted in American culture. As Roszak points out, the ideals embraced and promoted by the counter culture in their efforts towards liberation were mainly viewed as:

> the province of men who must prove themselves by "laying their balls on the line." Too often this suggests that the female of the species must content herself with keeping the home fires burning for her battle-scarred champion or joining the struggle as a camp follower. In either case, the community is saved *for* her, not *by* her as well.
>
> (1968: 65)

This ideology is also exemplified in popular music of the time, with numerous histories and surveys of the period focusing largely on Jimi Hendrix, Bob Dylan and, most commonly, The Beatles.[48] This male bias in recalling the development of popular music during this period shows that 'the supposedly serious cultural documents of teenage rebellion…emphasized male alienation and malaise…while [girls] appear as nothing more than mindless, hysterical, out-of-control bimbos who shrieked and fainted while watching the Beatles or jiggle[d] bare breasts at Woodstock' (Douglas in Warwick, 2007:5). The role of music in establishing a sense of national pride and identity is not unique to the sixties or the counter

[48] Examples of publications that deal largely with these performers include: Durwood Ball's article on popular music in *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s* (2001), Todd Gitlin's *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (1987) and Richie Unterberger's *Turn! Turn! Turn! The 60s Folk Rock Revolution* (2002). Additionally, the nine singer-songwriters featured in Mark Brend's *American Troubadours: Groundbreaking Singer-Songwriters of the 60s* (2001) are all male.

culture, although it should be noted that there was a 'shared belief that rock (and, in particular, progressive rock) could articulate its concerns' (Whiteley, 2000: 23). In this context, the counter culture's marginalisation of women, exemplified in the popular music of the time, is particularly troubling. Indeed, Whiteley notes that 'both the lifestyle and the musical ethos of the period undermined the role of women, positioning them as either romanticised fantasy figures, subservient earth mothers or easy lays' (ibid.). The subsequent male bias in documents which chronicle popular music of the era fail to recognise that the 'girl group' culture saturated popular music of both the late fifties and early sixties and, 'revelatory to both sexes; through their music, girls actively initiated a dialogue with, and required a response from, boys' (Stras, 2011:8)

Girl Groups/Girl Talk

In the previous chapter, I have discussed male vocal groups through my exploration of the musical genre of doo-wop. Whilst I have highlighted an overwhelming male bias in chronicling the history of popular music of the fifties and sixties, it should be noted that there is a paucity of documentation in terms of the performance conditions of male doo-wop groups. Much of the existing research focuses on the musicological aspects of this genre, rather than the various production modes attached to such performances, for example, costume and choreography. In terms of dress, it is clear that both girl and boy groups strived to eradicate difference and suggest community in their visual presentations (discussed in further detail later in this chapter), but it is interesting to note the attempt to highlight difference through gendered vocabularies of movement in the choreography. A crucial element of both the genre of these singing groups and the success of the record labels producing such work, the 'vocal choreography' – a term devised by Cholly Atkins, the most prominent African-American choreographer of male and female singing groups – featured 'punctuating [the music] with rhythmical dance steps, turns, and gestures drawn from the rich bedrock of American vernacular dance' (Atkins in Warwick, 2007: 53). Atkins devised two separate vocabularies; one for male and one for female

performers. Warwick notes the difference between the Temptations' 'striking stage walk and other bold gestures that made full use of their imposing height', contrasted against the stillness of the Supremes, whose choreography focuses mainly on their arms and hands (ibid.). Perhaps more illuminating is Atkins' own recollections of gendering when devising such choreography:

> the girl groups had to be more concerned with what I call physical drama. Instead of trying to move like the guys, I wanted them to use the kind of body language that was associated with women – using your eyes, hands on the hips, and so forth, but not in a macho way
>
> (Atkins in Warwick, 2007: 55).

Atkins noted that girl groups were being taught by male groups until they received his training. In citing the work of Susan Bordo, Warwick notes that this normalisation of the female body in 'gender oppression' applies across all power relations of age, race and class (56). There is a clear patriarchal order inherent in the choreographic process; whilst it could be argued that the very act of dancing and movement in male groups is in itself, a feminisation of the performance, the type of choreography outlined by Atkins suggests that binary notions of masculinity and femininity pervade the process. The very act of girl groups primarily being taught choreography by 'boy' groups, which is then further refined through the locus of a middle-aged man, suggests that their visual presence and embodiment has resulted in girl groups conforming to patriarchal, 'artificial sensations of their bodies and selves' (57).

As 'Black Boys/White Boys' refers directly to a pastiche of one of these girl groups, The Supremes, it is worth considering the use of the term 'girl' at this point. Whilst those who compile chronicles of the girl group culture struggle with the use of this term, many of them acknowledge the power in the use of the word. Jacqueline Warwick recognises that the term is 'highly complex and contradictory' but asserts that the growing field of scholarship in the subject matter seeks to identify the term 'girl' as 'distinct from both "woman" and "youth", an ostensibly gender-neutral term that often signifies only male adolescents' (2007:3). Stras

develops this same argument further by considering identity along four axes; gender, race, adolescence and class, each relying on the other for its production. Drawing upon Ruth Frankenberg's work on 'whiteness', she embeds her argument in the notion of 'doxa', that is, the normative, natural state of being, often invisible and therefore privileged. However, as previously discussed, the doxa for women in the early sixties was somewhat unstable. Contradictions in how women should behave, the role they were expected to play in post-war America and the opportunities available to them, meant that the doxa was no longer quite as defined as it had been for previous generations. The term 'girl' suggests both adolescence and femininity and stressing the commonality of the former 'is to recognize that all girls were subject to the same commercial conditioning' (2011:17). It is this sense of identification and desire for 'sameness' that highlights the intersections between the four axes mentioned above; the formation of identity lies not only in identification and differentiation, but also in exploring what lies between the boundaries of those axes, allowing social groups to fluctuate. Just as Butler asserts that these power relations generate multiple refusals to accept the category, so must they equally generate multiple desires to belong to such categories. As Stras clearly summarises, 'the desire to be different (or differentiated) may fuel a group's formation, but it is the desire for conformity that sustains its power balance, both within its community and against those that it excludes' (17). At a time when there were many contradictions for a woman (and girl) in American society, this promise of stability would have been both appealing and powerful.

However, the politics of production of such music was complex. Throughout the late fifties and sixties, there appeared to be, what Warwick refers to as 'a hierarchical' relationship between performer and producer, with many instances of the record producer overshadowing the (frequently, male) performer. Arguing that there was significantly less self-aggrandisement where female performers were concerned, Warwick notes that many producers used 'the malleability of adolescent female singers' to establish themselves in the music business and, in

many cases, crossover into the mainstream popular music charts (2007:93-94). To support her observation, she uses Berry Gordy as an example, stating that his 'sense of black women as unthreatening and comforting in comparison to black men corresponds to a prevalent stereotype of black woman as mammy' (ibid.)

Whilst there remains a troubling dichotomy between the production and dissemination of this music, and the performance of the music, the fact that such girl groups provided 'feminine archetypes' for women cannot be ignored and, as Stras proposes, without these archetypes 'later feminist voices, both black and white, would not have been heard quite so loudly or effectively' (2011:17). Similarly, in his article entitled, *Bouffants, Beehives, and Breaking Gender Norms: Rethinking 'Girl Group' Music of the 1950s and 1960s,* Will Stos urges scholars to 'consider girl group music as a site at which a critical feminist method can meet a redemptive approach' namely to 'illuminate the counter-normative side' of this form of music (2012: 122). These are difficult propositions to reconcile given that the public image of girl groups was so carefully crafted and constructed by middle-aged men who maintained a form of patriarchal control over every aspect of production. Certainly, the power of visibility and success is evident but in terms of independence, self-presence, authority and agency, less so. This is further reinforced in the popular releases of girl groups and singers in the late fifties and early sixties; the lyrics of such songs as 'I Met Him on a Sunday' and 'Will you Love me Tomorrow?' (The Shirelles, 1958 and 1960) and 'Please Mr Postman' (The Marvelettes, 1961) speak of waiting for an affirmation of love. However, even in 'I Met Him on a Sunday' there is a hint of how the music is beginning to progress, which is further cemented in slightly later releases such as Lesley Gore's 'You Don't Own Me' and Dionne Warwick's 'Don't Make Me Over', both released in 1963 and echoing the sentiment that any attempts to change these women will be futile. By the time of *Hair's* premiere off-Broadway, female voices were heard demanding 'respect', perhaps most notably in Aretha Franklin's hit of the same

name (1967).[49] Whilst the lyrics of these chart hits certainly point to a progression in the way women were expressing themselves, none go quite so far as to objectify the male form. The lyrics of both 'White Boys' and 'Black Boys' however, function in exactly this manner.

Initially, the songs were presented in the reverse order, with the African-American female group singing about white boys, before the white female group closed the scene. The order was switched when producer, Michael Butler recognised that the tempo and rhythm of 'White Boys' provided a more satisfying climax to the scene. In terms of musical style, the two songs contrast significantly. 'Black Boys', written in B major, features a simple melodic line of crotchet movement which, even after the bridge, remains and does not modulate. Part-writing is homophonic throughout and the song resolves into a plagal cadence, not suggesting complete formal closure (which is further indicated by the instruction 'segue as one') but instead prolonging the resolution across three bars, accompanied by an ascending melodic line, which begins at bar 30 and ends at bar 32.

Working on the assumption that - as stated in the previous chapter and echoed by Berry Gordy's comments above - music produced and performed by African American men suggested intense sexuality and sensuality, this melodic material does not seem to communicate or reiterate these features of 'black boys'. Musically, the song 'White Boys' is far more complex; with syncopated melodic and harmonic lines, the song features the flattened third, fifth and seventh throughout suggesting the use of the heptatonic blues scale. The accompanying vocal harmonic line is just as complex; whereas 'Black Boys' featured an accompaniment of on-beat sustained notes, the backing singers in bars 11 and 12 are afforded an extremely syncopated line with evidence of nonsense 'clanka-lanka' syllables. Also note the melisma which occurs throughout in the lead vocal line, particularly at bar 32.

[49] It is worth noting that the single was released two years prior to this date, performed by Otis Redding. It did not achieve the success of Franklin's version, which achieved top spot on the R&B chart, the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart and the Australian singles chart.

These factors, along with those already highlighted in 'Black Boys' appear to indicate that the music is influenced by the performer, rather than the subject of the song. The insertion of the nonsense syllables can be traced back to the 'clanka-lanka' technique discussed in the previous chapter. However, Warwick – referring to these sounds as 'vocables' - posits an alternative reading suggesting that their use can be 'identified as a form of girlspeak, a code that signifies while refusing conventional language' (2007:41), a form of *écriture feminine*. Drawing on the work of both Cixous and Barthes, Warwick argues that in considering the presence of the body is the most important aspect of music, this kind of 'girlspeak' allows girls to share experiences in 'ways that patriarchal authority cannot control' (42). Thus, both the musical material and the lyrics assert that a feminine language is being used; the music relates directly to the body and experiences of the singer, and the lyrics, whilst objectifying the male form, also utilise a feminine code to do so. Moreover, this 'feminine code' is not merely constructed on the sole basis of normative notions of gender but appears to consider other power relations, particularly race, in constructing this musical language.

Both songs celebrate the female voice and – more importantly – the black female voice. As discussed in the previous chapter, the black voice sounds 'against the grain of metropolitan voice culture' (Olwage, 2004: 209) and in the case of 'Black Boys/White Boys' we hear both contrasted alongside each other. The sound is unmistakably 'female' but in the latter case, is also unmistakably black. It could be argued that regardless of melody and harmony, the strongest marker of difference between the two songs is actually the timbre of the female voices reproducing the material. Olwage discusses the black voice as shout, particularly in pronunciation of the vowel sound of 'ah' given its essential volume which is largely due to the openness of the mouth in forming the sound and its 'natural place of production' (215); the chest register. Comparing this to the 'preferred' head register of the European, metropolitan sound, he proposes that the 'shout' in the black voice is largely as a result of the chest register being utilised so heavily

in black choral singing. This is heard very clearly on the 2009 cast recording of this song in *Hair*, particularly upon utterance of the word 'white', which utilises the 'ah' vowel as its fundamental sound. This is further embellished with melismas and ad-libs, particularly from bar 44 onwards and most notably on the word 'crazy' which is undoubtedly the performer's own interpretation of word painting given that it deviates from its original statement in the score. As Olwage argues that the corporeality of the voice is both 'classed and racialized' (214), I would argue here that it is also gendered; these songs not only celebrate the female voice and female subjectivity, they also celebrate the black female voice as an additional marker of corporeality. The grain of the black voice has not been erased in the process of establishing the feminine code.

The choice of costume for this scene is also crucial. Up until this point in the musical, the members of the Tribe have not changed costume, remaining throughout in their 'hippie' attire. Both girl groups change costume for this scene and each trio wear identical clothes. This erasure of difference is a common feature of girl groups of the fifties and sixties which further cements the desire for conformity. As Warwick argues, these uniforms erase 'elements of individuality and humanity as they explicitly proclaim the wearer's membership in a group and discourage seeing her as unique' (2007: 77), remarking this is yet another form of violence enacted on these groups.

In analysing the visual image of this scene (available at: http://www.boweryboyshistory.com/2008/04/when-jupiter-aligned-with-mars-hair-on.html), we are presented with a startling resemblance between the performers on stage and the 'look' of white, female pop icons such as Dusty Springfield. In her amusingly titled chapter, 'Dusty's Hair', Annie J. Randall remarks that, when interviewed, the only apparently 'safe' topic to broach with Springfield was her 'over-the-top 60s look – the trademark hairstyles and dark eye makeup [. . .] topics mined instead for jokes and nostalgia', rather than focusing on the singer's embodiment of 'the postwar generation's experience of profoundly changing gender roles and race relations' (in Stras, 2011: 114). Whilst

Randall suggests that Springfield's look enabled her voice to be heard, she continues to dissect how that look was created and enforced in popular culture of the era.[50] However, she proposes that whilst many producers of girl artists in the sixties strived for a uniform appearance which represented 'wholesome femininity', Dusty Springfield's look was a 'camp version of feminine display that drew attention to its artificiality and communicated with delicious theatricality its own obvious fakeness' (116). It stands to reason then that the mimicry of this look during this scene in *Hair* could possibly be read as drawing attention to this fakeness, thus revealing the highly constructed (and constricted) nature of white femininity during the sixties.

However, signalling membership of a particular group can be reassuring for the adolescent girl and, of course, erases signifiers of class and difference. Indeed, when Florence Ballard left The Supremes in 1967, Motown was more concerned with finding a replacement that could fit into Ballard's gowns, rather than considering the impact her exit would have on their vocal arrangements. Furthermore, the very specific choice of dress for a group such as The Supremes, also suggested refined adulthood, signifying the passage a girl makes from adolescence to maturity. Horn comments on the comedy value provided by the costume worn by the 'White Boys' trio but when the single dress is revealed it is not merely a moment of hilarity but actually functions to draw attention to the 'violence' enacted upon girls. Furthermore, in a 2016 documentary discussing the Motown recordings entitled 'Guess who's coming home', *Time* magazine reporter, Alvin Hall comments that the record label were receiving letters from fans asking when The Supremes were going to be allowed to wear their hair naturally. Fans were complaining that the girl group was being forced to wear wigs rather than show their natural hair (i.e. the afro). Both girl groups in this scene are forced to wear wigs so the uniformity demanded of these groups is reinforced.

[50] It is interesting to note that a search of 'Dusty Springfield' via Google images in 2016, categorises the images by the following headings; 1960s, dress, makeup.

However, the wigs worn appear to also draw attention to the artificiality of gender and indeed, race. Whilst the black performers wear the blonde, flowing wigs, (as seen in the visual image available at: https://www.huffingtonpost.com/george-heymont/back-to-the-sixties_b_9630934.html), the white performers appear to be wearing afros. These wigs perhaps point to the ways in which we might consider both gender and race as being constructed and subject to 'play', they speak of fluidity and furthermore, draw attention to the fact that hair cannot be considered as a natural and definitive marker of either gender or race. When coupled with the single dress, the wigs appear to show an awareness of normative expectations and the uniformity demanded of women in society thus calling attention to the manner in which gender identity is erased, constructed or enforced.

In both of the images provided it is clear that the uniformity of dress in girl groups is perhaps a main feature of these scenes in *Hair*. Subsuming the individuality of the girl 'while promoting her identity as belonging to a specific type [. . .] can be both stifling and, paradoxically, liberating' (Warwick, 2007: 82). The camp nature of both scenes functions to draw attention to the artificial, the theatrical. As Robertson argues, camp is a kind of:

> parodic play between subject and object in which the subject laughs at and plays with her own image – in other words, to imagine her distancing herself from her own image by making fun of, and out of, that image – without losing sight of the real power that image has over her.
>
> (Robertson in Warwick, 2007: 83)

In other words, *Hair's* employment of playful, camp strategies comments on gender identity in a way that is recognisably artificial, a bold gesture that serves to provoke and prompt the audience to reconsider their understanding of femininity and the manner in which it is nothing more than a patriarchal construction.

The Problem with Sheila….

In her article entitled *Busted for Her Beauty,* Elizabeth Wollman argues that 'feminism had yet to rear its head as a hot-button issue in 1968' and that, as a result, 'Off Off Broadway was fairly traditional when it came to sexual politics' (2014:2). However, significant work was being produced Off Off Broadway during the period leading up to 1968 that indicates sexual identity, gender stereotyping and inherent sexism in America was being questioned. The work of playwright, Megan Terry deals with such topics and her plays including, *Calm Down, Mother* (1964), *Keep Tightly Closed in a Cool Dry Place* (1965), and *Gloaming, Oh my Darling* (1965) all hint at how the relationships between women and the societal roles performed by women were openly questioned during this period. Terry's work in this arena was somewhat side-lined by her play *Viet Rock*, which was written in direct response to the Vietnam War and largely influenced the musical, *Hair*.[51] These developments aside, Wollman still argues that the women in *Hair* are 'all motivated by romantic designs on men' (3).

The previous chapter outlines that this is not the case; the analysis of the song 'Abie Baby' indicates that there are no such romantic designs present during this scene. Similarly, Jeanie, Crissy and Dionne's rendition of the song 'Air' shows only concern for the environment and the planet, and makes no reference to the masculine at all:

> Welcome, sulphur dioxide/Hello, carbon monoxide,
> The air, the air/is everywhere.
> Breathing like a sullen perfume/Eating at the stone of my tomb
>
> (Rado, Ragni, MacDermot, 1967: 43)

It is easy to understand how Wollman arrives at this position when viewing the character of Sheila in isolation; even so, there are moments where Sheila's

[51] Gerome Ragni was an original cast member of *Viet Rock.* The material of both productions also bear striking similarities; the song 'Let's go Gay with L.B.J.' (*Viet Rock)* compared to the song 'Initials' in *Hair* is perhaps one of the most convincing examples of such similarities.

musical and dramatic material indicate that her primary motivation is not Claude or Berger. We are introduced to her mid-way through act one where she is lauded as 'Joan of Arc' and leads the Tribe in a rallying call of 'What do we want? Peace! When do we want it? Now!' Her song at this point ('I Believe in Love') seems to point to love of country, rather than love of men. The opening section of this song features repetition of the title, delaying a cadential point until the bridge is reached. The musical release featured in bars 20 to 27 links the central tenet of 'love' to a love of country, not of man, and segues into a section reminiscent of a national anthem. Indeed, the lyrics here are taken directly from the American patriotic song, 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee', which served as the American national anthem until 1931.[52]

This is not the only instance of patriotism in the musical. Although *Hair* is often cited for its anti-patriotic stance, the title song also features a reference to love of country by including the modern American national anthem 'The Star Spangled Banner' (as mentioned above, adopted in 1931). The lyrics derive from a poem entitled 'Defence of Fort M'Henry', written in 1814 and were subsequently set to music by English composer, John Stafford-Smith with the intention of being used as the official song of an 18th century, men-only, amateur musicians club in London.[53] The reference to the modern national anthem in the song 'Hair' is clear: although the key signature is altered and the time signature has changed from triple to duple time, the similarities are unmistakable (see bars 44 to 48).

These key moments of patriotism are important. *Hair* on Broadway was criticised for its anti-patriotic stance in reference to the flag scene in 'Don't Put it Down',[54] although the creative team insist that it was never their intention to be anti-

[52] Incidentally, the tune of 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee' (also known as 'America') became the melody of the national anthem of the United Kingdom.
[53] There is an additional level of irony in the adoption of this song. The lyrics (in poem form) were originally penned by Francis Scott Key after witnessing British ships attack Fort McHenry during the war of 1812.
[54] Horn discusses the response to this scene in her publication, drawing attention to the swift exit of astronauts James Lovell and John Swigert. However, she highlights that the story has entered some of the folklore surrounding the musical and the event itself cannot be verified. (1991: 89-90)

American, only anti-war. In terms of Sheila, her musical material in 'I Believe in Love' echoes the central themes of the title song. The motivation for her song is simply to communicate this sentiment of patriotism; the song therefore, is clearly focused on love of country, which is later reiterated by the whole Tribe in 'Hair'. Sheila's musical material therefore, has established one of the central themes of the musical, which influences later material for the Tribe.

'I Believe in Love' then prompts a further exploration of the apparent injustices experienced by the youth of America, expressed in the lyrics and restless melody of 'Ain't Got No'. In terms of the dramatic arc of the musical, Sheila acts as instigator at this point, urging members of the Tribe to become more aware of issues in society (prior to her entrance, the Tribe's musical material is largely concerned with their own experience or back story).[55] Of the material that occurs in the first part of act one, Wollman argues that the opening numbers

> help quickly educate the audience about the hippies' stance on sex and drugs, but "Donna" also inadvertently sets the tone for the masculine bent that the rest of the show takes. When the female characters are introduced, it soon becomes apparent that they, too, are treated primarily as love interests, sexual objects or both
>
> (2014:3).

This is certainly not the case with Sheila's introduction; her musical and dramatic material serve to raise consciousness about a number of wider issues; the war in Vietnam, the disenchanted youth juxtaposed with love of country, the right to protest freely and peacefully, and the desire to live in peace and harmony. Throughout her introductory sequence, the audience possesses no knowledge of her relationship to either Berger or Claude. However, Wollman does acknowledge that Sheila is 'the sole representative of the New Left' (ibid.), which indicates the political purpose of this character. When analysing Sheila's function in the musical, it is useful to turn once more to Turner's view of the liminoid. The

[55] This is particularly exemplified in Berger's song, 'Donna', Woof's song, 'Sodomy' and Claude's ode to 'Manchester, England', all of which occur prior to Sheila's entrance.

treatment of Sheila, or rather, her somewhat two-dimensional representation in the musical, can be explained by referring to the first two stages of the liminoid; breach and crisis. The breach of the regular, norm-governed social life occurred for women post World War II. Women found themselves no longer able to conduct the work that had been expected of them during the war effort and found themselves relegated to the role of housewife and mother, thus entering a period of 'crisis' where they questioned their ultimate contribution to society (explored in detail by Friedan). The fifties and early sixties highlights a period of redress, where women expressed a desire to restructure the normative social order but were expected to revert back to the above roles in order to reintroduce control. The feminist movement had not yet advanced to the final stage, where alternative solutions are sought. Sheila embodies the liminoid in both the larger cultural context, where women were beginning to explore their identity and functions in society, and in terms of her character in the dramatic arc of the musical. Her confused status illuminates how the feminist movement had yet to advance at the same pace as the civil rights movement in society, but she also functions as an important catalyst by highlighting some of the central tenets of the musical and introducing alternative considerations to the pot-smoking, free-loving, somewhat egocentric, Tribe we are introduced to at the start of act one.

Wollman's article provides a detailed overview of the character Sheila in the original Off Broadway incarnation of the show. She recounts the troubling scene featuring Sheila's rape – discussed later in this chapter - and Berger's violence toward her in general. These are convincing arguments which reinforce her claim that *Hair* reflects the inherent sexism in both the counterculture and Off Off Broadway. Whilst some of the violence displayed by Berger remains, all depictions of the rape had been removed by the time the musical reached Broadway. Similarly, she notes that the insertion of Sheila's song later in act one, 'Easy to be Hard', renders her a more three-dimensional character. Whilst it can be argued that dramatically, Sheila functions as no more than a love interest for Claude and/or Berger, her musical material strongly suggests that she is more concerned

with much wider issues; the war and national identity ('I Believe in Love'), social injustice ('Easy to be Hard'), the earth, universe, peace and the future of the nation ('Good Morning, Starshine' and 'Flesh Failures'). Sheila remains an important protagonist in the Tribe, serving to raise consciousness and encouraging the group to consider those wider issues that were most pressing in American society during the sixties. Whilst she might not be an obvious proponent of some of the values that emerged in the second wave of feminism, she certainly functions as the voice of the New Left, the political voice of *Hair.*

The character of Sheila is perhaps best described as 'embryonic', signifying the early voice of the second-wave feminist movement. Whilst she is not by any means a feminist voice in the Tribe, her political concerns seem much more attuned to those of the sixties than perhaps any other character in the musical. Her relationship to both Berger and Claude is, as Wollman suggests, extremely problematic but if we apply one of the most favoured idioms of the Broadway musical – that of the marriage trope – to her narrative arc, then there is no evidence of this female character ever acquiring the redemptive status desired by many women in musicals. In fact, the key 'romantic' relationship of this musical is between Berger and Claude and whilst this raises issues of women merely being on the periphery, often desiring that which is clearly not attainable, it does prompt the audience to rethink normative notions of heterosexuality. *Hair's* revolutionary approach to gender and sexual politics is more explicitly revealed when analysing the functions of the incidental, ancillary characters of the Tribe.

Margaret Mead and 'My Conviction'

> Is drag the imitation of gender, or does it dramatize the signifying gestures through which gender itself is established? Does being female constitute a "natural fact" or a cultural performance, or is "naturalness" constituted through discursively constrained performative acts that produce the body through and within the categories of sex?
>
> (Butler, 2006: xxxi)

In *Gender Trouble,* Butler proposes that drag 'implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself' (2006: 187), suggesting a relationship between imitation and original. However, rather than consider the act of drag in these binary terms, Butler develops the premise to reveal instead, three dimensions at play; anatomical sex, gender identity and gender performance. The first two dimensions are already distinct from the other, with the third suggesting a further dissonance; sex and gender are 'denaturalised by means of a performance which avows their distinctness and dramatizes the cultural mechanism of their fabricated unity' (188). However, it is necessary to further scrutinise the third element of gender performance, particularly given that the use of the voice has the potential to disrupt any illusion of gender coherence.

Schlichter argues that, in drag performance, the performer often lip-synchs which allows for a visual performance of gender, whilst the voice of the 'other gender' remains disembodied, usually transmitted via a sound system; 'the alterity of the voice of drag has to be repressed in the name of gender intelligibility' (2011: 47). However, when the voice is used in drag performance, it can produce additional contradictory performances of gender, particularly when the register of the spoken voice is contrasted against the sung voice. It is this method of using both the voice and the visual performance during a scene in *Hair* that reveals, as Butler proposes, the imitative structure of gender.

Following the title song, a male member of the cast enters as Margaret Mead. Although this is not explicitly stated in the performance itself, both the script and score assign this character name. Rado and Ragni's choice to do this is, in itself, a point worthy of further discussion. Mead, a cultural anthropologist, became a prominent author during the sixties and seventies, although much of her work was published before 1959. Mead's research, conducted in South East Asia and the South Pacific, led her to question sexual attitudes and relationships in American and Western cultures. Her 1950 publication, entitled *Male and Female* is a 'study of the sexes in a changing world' and perhaps more illuminating, is her

preface to the 1962 edition, which affords her the opportunity to reassess that changing world fifteen years later than her original insights. She states:

> In summary, it may be said that the distribution of roles between the sexes and the generations in the United States has undergone a profound transformation [. . .]. This turning in upon the home for all satisfaction, with a decrease in friendship, in community responsibility, in work and creativeness, seems to be a function of the uncertainty about the future which is characteristic of this generation. [. . .] Delight in motherhood has been recognized as a principal barrier to women's creativeness in work, but there is now added the danger that delight in parenthood may prove equally seductive to young men.
>
> (1962: 16)

Here, Mead is revealing some of the social issues that proved problematic for the young generation of the sixties. She neatly summarises the focus on the home and the nuclear family, whilst also highlighting the impact of this on women in society. This short paragraph seems to summarise the zeitgeist of the early sixties, even if her final remark is a little short-sighted in terms of the impending sexual revolution. Given her observations about the concerns of the young generation and her liberal approach to sex and gender, her appearance in *Hair* is of no surprise.

Mead enters with her husband, Hubert, explaining that they are on their honeymoon and is quickly established as a 'visitor from another generation'. Her fascination lies in the male members of the Tribe and their long hair, and is satisfied by the response that hair is worn long for the 'sensual experience'. The song that then follows does not, however, disrupt the illusion of gender coherence. Written in the counter tenor range, the song provides an aural signifier of female gender; the range is equivalent to the female mezzo-soprano/contralto register. Whilst there is some debate regarding the upper register of the counter tenor range and the 'voice' that the male performer uses to facilitate the production of sound here, the majority of the song is written in the most comfortable part of the tessitura for the male counter-tenor and it frequently avoids the lower notes – an octave below middle C – that risk revealing

the masculinity of the baritone speaking register. For the large part, the song avoids utilising this lower register and where sprechstimme is used, the performer raises his voice by several tones to evade disrupting the illusion. The extended top A, which begins at bar 16, further eradicates any potential disruption and in a number of recordings, the fermata is often moved to the A, rather than remaining on the D at the end of the word 'actually' to allow for the audience to respond (as seen in bar 19).

In the 2009 Broadway revival of *Hair*, this section receives extended applause from the audience. There are two potential reasons for this; firstly, audience members may have prior knowledge of the lyrics and are anticipating the closure of the word 'actually'. However, it is more likely that the duration of the note, coupled with the feat of achieving the sound in the uppermost register of the male voice has prompted a spontaneous response. The audience are aware that the performance at this point is an illusion and are applauding the vocal athleticism on display, which appears to further dramatise the cultural mechanism of the fabricated unity between sex and gender.

This fabricated unity is further cemented at various points throughout the scene and is perhaps most clearly revealed in the lyrics. The lyrics segue directly from Mead's life-affirming speech which asserts:

> I wish every mother and father in this theatre would go home tonight and make a speech to their teenagers and say, 'kids, be free, no guilt be whoever you are, do whatever you want to do, just as long as you don't hurt anybody, right? Right!
>
> (Rado, Ragni, 1967)

This speech clearly breaks the fourth wall. It also highlights that Mead is not part of the tribe; she speaks to the older generation, assuming they will be present in the audience, which further alienates her from the tribe and the younger generation. The song then offers further thoughts on the visual representation of gender:

I would just like to say that it is my conviction/

That long hair and other flamboyant affectations of appearance/

Are nothing more than the male's emergence/

From his drab camouflage into the gaudy plumage which is the birth right of his sex

There is a peculiar notion that elegant plumage/

And fine feathers are not proper for the man/

When actually that is the way things are in most species

(Rado, Ragni, 1967)

There then follows both an aural and visual presentation of the above. Directly following the song, Mead opens her coat revealing the semi-naked body of a man underneath the 'gaudy plumage'. She then asks Berger not to reveal that she is in fact, a man, to Hubert her husband, stating that he has 'no idea'. In the days of the closet and the pre-Stonewall era, homosexuals were integrated but, as Seidman argues, this was on the condition that they remained 'invisible and silent' (2004: 23). It is interesting to note that this scene seems to reflect such conditions; Mead is asking to remain closeted but is certainly testing the boundaries in terms of appearance and voice. Furthermore, the line of dialogue is delivered in the baritone register of the male speaking voice which serves to disrupt the illusion established in the (counter-tenor) performance of the song. The 'intentional and visible discontinuity between the gender performance and the gendered performer' as Rhyne contests, is of paramount importance (2004: 185). The male body, coupled with the male spoken voice and the further reference to Hubert, also introduces the notion of a heteronormative sexual system based on binary sexual identities; heterosexuality and homosexuality. In their study of drag performance, Taylor and Rupp (2004) recognise it as a performative gender transgression, which allows the body of the performer to highlight 'the social basis of gender and sexuality and becomes a weapon to contest dominant heterosexual gender codes' (116). It seems therefore, that given the way in which this drag performance is presented or rather, essentially

deconstructed on stage, coupled with giving the character the persona of a prominent social anthropologist, *Hair* is utilising drag performance as a means of social commentary. Mead's own work on alternative sexual lifestyles in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) seems to suggest that sexual liberation could only be achieved in a less-restrictive and stifling society and in later publications she asserts that America had become a complex culture where notions of male/female followed an 'assumed development'; a 'recommended, applauded [and] underlined pattern' (1962: 244). The scene illustrates attitudes towards sexual liberation in America and the way in which the counter culture were approaching markers of gender and sexuality. It is interesting to note that in the September 1968 edition of *New York Magazine*, George Nash's article entitled 'What People Really Think of *Hair*' (in which he interviews a selection of audience members) is immediately preceded by an article entitled 'His Is Hers', advertising a new range of unisex clothing on sale at the New York boutique, 'Experiment 1'.[56]

Whilst it is problematic to attempt to compare the somewhat sanitised Broadway production of *Hair* with the various forms of aesthetic practices of the sixties (happenings, experimental theatre, street theatre), there are some similarities to be found. Political expression of this era was firmly focused on 'the meaningfulness and authenticity of the subject's relation to self and world' (DeKoven, 2004: 190), typified in the slogan of second-wave feminism: 'The personal is political'. As a result of this central notion of self and subjectivity, the focus of the sixties became more concerned with process over product, that is, the act of 'doing'. 'The key shift from dominant modern to emergent postmodern connections of politics to subjectivity', as DeKoven proposes, 'encompasses the replacement of a vision of universal, utopian social-political transformation by temporary affinity groupings'. Such temporary groupings, concerned with local and often limited, but clearly defined issues, continually shift and 'performatively

[56] However, it should be noted that both articles are sandwiched by an observation of how financial knowledge makes a true gentleman and the TV listings; which features eight visual images, all of women with prominent cleavages!

produce[d], nonessential, non-self-identical subjectivities' (193). It could be argued that the scenes analysed above in the Broadway production of *Hair,* represent such a process. Using the above premise of the personal as political, *Hair's* approach to identity politics is best summarised as being characterised by 'the play of shifting, malleable, constructed differences' (ibid. 251) and it does so, often through camp, parodic strategies. There are clear markers throughout the musical, of moments where certain characters challenge the dominant, hegemonic voice.

Multiple Masculinities

Hair presents both ideologies of the early feminist movement; firstly, the affirmation of the strengths of women and the necessity to promote sisterhood as an identity category ('Black Boys/White Boys') and secondly, a concern with a deconstruction of binary gender differences ('My Conviction'). The latter is communicated at various points throughout the musical, but not always by female characters.

The title song promotes the benefits of men wearing their hair long:

> Give me a head with hair/long, beautiful hair/
> Shining, gleaming, streaming, flaxen, waxen/
> I want it long, straight, curly, fuzzy, snaggy, shaggy, ratty, matty/
> Oily, greasy, fleecy, shining, gleaming, streaming, flaxen, waxen/
> Knotted, polka-dotted, twisted, beaded, braided/
> Powered, flowered and confettied/
> Bangled, tangled, spangled and spaghettied
>
> (Rado, Ragni, 1967)

Indeed, the very title of the musical is perhaps a metaphor for a wider critique of dominant social ideologies and attitudes. In her 2001 article, Rose Weitz assesses the role of women's hair in seeking power through resistance and accommodation. Drawing on Bordo's proposition of there being power in 'doing

femininity well', Weitz identifies how a woman can use her 'understanding of cultural ideologies surrounding [. . .] hair' to increase the effectiveness of such a strategy in terms of influencing the behaviour, emotions and responses of another (673-674). The expectation on women to wear their hair long is chronicled in numerous publications and is traditionally accepted as a visual marker of femininity.[57] Perhaps more illuminating is Graham's detailed article of 2004, examining the 'Great Hair Debate in American High Schools' from 1965 to 1975. Through examining the case of Karr vs. Schmidt and other federal court cases of this period, where young men brought lawsuits against their school board, Graham highlights the social significance of hair and the 'symbolic significance of hairstyles through time and across cultures' to 'encode specific social values or identities, often in opposition to mainstream cultural norms' (524-525). Whilst it can be argued that there are a number of factors to be considered in young men wearing their hair long - symbolising membership of the counter culture, or their resistance to the draft – Karr vs. Schmidt shows that a major component in the testimony was that of gender differences and societal expectations. When debating whether the male defendant's hair could be tied back with a 'pretty red ribbon', the defendant responded that '"society would not allow it", intimating that the fault lay in society's reception of masculine long hair, not the hair itself' (530). Moreover, the article is careful to highlight the perceived rise of 'multiple incompatible masculinities' and the role that hair length played in symbolising the perceived breakdown of society and concurrently, its understanding of binary gender differences (533).

Connell proposes that recognising that there is more than one kind of masculinity is only a first step in understanding gender fully and that examining gender relations amongst men is necessary to 'prevent the acknowledgement of multiple

[57] Such publications include Leach's 1958 article entitled *Magical Hair* which proposes that long hair is symbolic of unrestrained sexuality and short, representative of castration/celibacy, ranging to Karen Stevenson's illuminating chapter on Charlotte Perkins Gilman's work on hair, gender and the agency of self (1999). The subject remains one of fascination even in the early twenty-first century as illustrated in Sherrow's 2006 *Encyclopedia of Hair, A Cultural History* and Benedict's *Me, My Hair and I: 27 Women Untangle an Obsession* (2015).

masculinities collapsing into a character typology': hegemonic masculinity, she asserts, 'is not a fixed character type [but] the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations' (2005: 76). In terms of gender relations, hegemonic masculinity is 'culturally exalted' in that, this form of gender practice ensures the dominant position of men in relation to women (and indeed, to other men). Proposing that hegemonic masculinity is a 'historically mobile relation', Connell asserts that it is best understood as a 'pattern of practices (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity)', that is, there is no singular, fixed set of values that constitute this grouping, indeed, 'older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones' (2005: 832-833). Donaldson (1993) helpfully lists those who may be considered as 'weavers of the fabric of hegemony', which may include politicians, journalists, advertisers, film makers, priests, and sportsmen; all those who 'regulate and manage gender regimes; articulate experiences, fantasies, and perspectives' (646). Indeed, Connell proposes that this regulation is only likely to be established if there is 'some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power' (2005: 77). In terms of the era being explored in this thesis, the institutional power manifests itself in the form of the military and its prominent role in everyday life as a result of the Vietnam war; indeed, Claude's dilemma regarding his draft into the armed forces is central to the narrative arc which subtly weaves *Hair* together. Essentially, the character's personal struggle with conforming to the demands of hegemonic masculinity is relayed in great detail, nowhere better exemplified than in the closing number of act one ('Where Do I Go?') and prepared for in the appearance of his parents earlier in the act, who serve to reinforce and outline the accepted strategy for this form of gender practice. Claude is, however, attracted to those in the Tribe who identify as male and who may not embody the codes of hegemonic masculinity. This chapter therefore seeks to outline the ways in which the various male members of the Tribe fulfil the requirements and traits of Connell's categories of relations amongst masculinities: hegemony, subordination, marginalisation, and complicity. Although these categories appear

fixed and stable, they speak more widely to the notion of multiple masculinities and the fluidity of gender.

Hegemony: Claude

Claude's assertion, early in act one, that he is 'invisible' is interesting in that Van Gennep proposes that once the subject has moved from the separation to the liminal stage, they are rendered invisible, their status is ambiguous. As discussed in chapter one, the social status of the young is also liminal; they have not yet reached the reassimilation phase when they are accepted into the adult world. The additional consideration here is what this means in terms of gender. The term 'hegemonic masculinity' is often used as a descriptor of male power; 'the individual is lost within, or [. . .] subjected to, an ideological apparatus and an innate drive for power' (Whitehead, 2002: 93). As Whitehead expands, hegemony is always subject to the 'power of individual and collective struggle'. In terms of gender, the hegemonic position can be attained by any male practice at any given time, but these emerging positions, or practices, will 'contribute to the larger conditions of inequality and points of oppression'; the key commonality in our understanding of the term 'hegemony' however, is the 'notion of resistance and (potential) transformation' (94). The young male is therefore placed in a position whereby they must choose to resist or conform/transform to the patterns and ideological apparatus of hegemonic masculinity which constitute the current exalted position.

The ideological apparatus in this case could refer to the accepted, normative traits of 'manhood', developed and theorised by psychologist Robert Brannon. Brannon's work is interesting is that he highlights those practices which constitute the male role, largely in response to feminist studies which conducted similar work in terms of the female sex role in the early sixties. As such, Brannon defines 'the underlying themes which define our culture's particular perception of masculinity' (1976: 4). He recognises that there may not be one ideal image of what constitutes a 'real man' – and lists some helpful stereotypes to illustrate this

– but asserts that there are a number of themes which 'pervade and ultimately define the male sex role'; No sissy stuff, The Big Wheel, The Sturdy Oak, and Give 'Em Hell (12). Such themes are indeed ideologies as Brannon himself asserts that this male sex role is both 'unrealistic and unbelievable' (36), rather, they appear to be blueprints for the adolescent male to aspire to in his performance of manhood. As such, these are clearly communicated to Claude in act one, largely through the appearance and instruction of his 'Mom' (the libretto does not explicitly state the biological relationship between the two, although it is certainly implied through their dialogue).

Throughout this section of dialogue, Mom highlights all four themes through her attempts to urge Claude to behave in line with society's normative expectations of a man and she is subsequently labelled by Claude as being '1948', implying that her attitudes and expectations are twenty years out of date.

Her first request prompts Claude to consider his employment prospects:

Mom:	I'm beat….
Claude:	"It's the age of electronic dinosaurs and cybernetic Indians and the *Daily News,* the age where it's more fun than ever to be young. . ."
Mom:	Did you see about that job today?

(Rado & Ragni, 1967: 399)

Here, Mom is basing her request on the desirable requirements of Brannon's Big Wheel; 'success, status, and the need to be looked up to' (1976:12), which can generally only be achieved through financial self-reliance and prosperity, and assuming the breadwinner role.

This is further reinforced later in the scene where Mom also conflates gender with nation; not only is obtaining employment the ultimate expectation of masculinity, it also denotes what it means to be American:

Mom: Stop that! You stop that right now. We work hard for a living. Start being an American. Find a job. The trouble with you is you're not an American. All these Bolshevik ideas. It's disgusting. Look at yourself.

(Rado & Ragni, 1967: 399)

Capitalist ideologies have become intertwined with normative expectations of masculinity. To achieve success and status is now no longer merely a requirement of manhood, but also the nation requires it of the individual. Furthermore, as Brannon notes, securing employment does not necessarily mean finding fulfilment in such a job, happiness is not a requirement or by-product of securing wealth and status, it is simply the expectation that a man will be self-sufficient, work hard, and potentially provide for others in his nuclear family. Claude is clearly wrestling with the dilemma of whether to subscribe to the normative expectations of hegemonic masculinity and perhaps embodies the predicament of many young men in the sixties. In his inaugural lecture at Harvard University in 1995, Robert Putnam uses language of the sixties – *Tuning In, Tuning Out* – to outline the erosion of social capital and civic engagement in the United States, citing the events of the sixties, the civil rights revolution, and technological changes in society as some of the contributing factors. Indeed, the counter-culture is synonymous with 'dropping out'; essentially, the 'disowning of a life oriented toward work, status, and power. It was a search for poverty, simplicity, and new ideas' (Miller, 2011: 93). Whilst some hippies were expressing their distaste for work quite openly (Abbie Hoffman relates the necessity to work with Judeo-Christian guilt and the requirement to atone for sins), it was more the work ethic they were opposed to, that is, meaningless, unenjoyable work for material purposes. Such work is also referenced later in Claude's scene with 'Mom' during which she states that Claude's father will not be giving him any more money, imploring her son to consider what he wants to do with his life.

The proceeding dialogue in this scene also outlines expectations of masculinity commensurate with Brannon's theory of manhood. Early in the scene, Mom labels Claude as 'nothing but tissue paper' (Rado, Ragni, 1967: 399) and later instructs

him to take off her beads before he leaves the house. Both references feminise Claude; the first hints that he is not behaving as a 'Sturdy Oak' – Brannon (1976) proposes a man should be calm and composed, reliable, strong and steady - which, when coupled with the second reference, indicate that he is not conforming to the requirements of 'No Sissy Stuff': 'a "real man" must never, never resemble women, or display strongly stereotyped feminine characteristics' (14). Furthermore, as Brannon proposes, this also means that a 'real man' should not be associated with any of the fine arts, which are also considered feminine; 'men who enjoy, create, or even write about these things are widely assumed to be less manly than men who ignore them' and professions or pursuits that place men in a realm that might interest a woman is considered a threat to 'masculine isolation' (15).

We learn that Claude is interested in such pursuits earlier in the act when he introduces himself in the song 'Manchester, England':

> Claude Hooper Bukowksi
> Finds that it's groovy to hide in a movie
> Pretends he's Fellini, and Antonioni,
> And also his countryman, Roman Polanski, all rolled into one
>
> (Rado et al. 1967: 26-27)

It is interesting to note Claude's mention of non-American directors; film makers, according to Donaldson, can be considered to be one of the 'weavers of the fabric of hegemony', but Claude's mention of these foreign art-house directors – as opposed to John Ford (*The Searchers*) or Robert Aldrich (*The Dirty Dozen*) – is perhaps indication of his character further transgressing normative gendered identities. There appears to be only one solution to eradicating Claude's 'sissy stuff'; joining the army, which, as his Mom proposes, will 'make a man of you' (Rado, Ragni, 1967: 400). This is the older generation's final attempt at making Claude follow the remaining tenet of manhood; 'Give 'em hell', 'the aura of aggression, violence, and daring' (Brannon, 1976: 27). Only the army can eradicate

Claude's 'feminine' sensibilities, perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the symbolic gesture of cutting his long hair to an acceptable, army regulated length.

Claude's Music

Claude's rebellion against the ideological expectations expressed by his parents can be seen in his first act song, 'I Got Life', in which he attempts to explain exactly what 1968 has that 1948 doesn't have. The song begins with a quasi-recitative section but at bar 12 the explicit tempo marking of 'rock' is given. It is interesting that this tempo is so clearly stated here, particularly given that the musical itself is billed as 'the American Tribal Love *Rock* Musical'. There then follows a highly-rhythmic melodic line, fashioned in speech patterns and centring on a chord structure of I-IV-V. Much has been written about the sociology and sexuality of rock and its relationship with masculinity; as early as 1978 Frith and McRobbie attempted to explain how it is through the production and control of the genre that masculinity is asserted. However, as Marion Leonard contests, meanings regarding musical texts and their contexts are not fixed and are consequently open to negotiation. She instead asserts that part of rock's proposed inherent masculinity is due, in large part, to the canons that serve to 'characterise and reify it' and that such texts work to 'stabilise gender' (2007: 28). It appears impossible to prove that rock is essentially a male practice, but Leonard argues that the masculinity of rock is 'continually put into discourse' (40). Whilst I do not wish to further assert the gender binaries of rock music, I believe it necessary to try to categorise Claude's sound and realise this may need to be achieved through a comparison with some of the songs mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter.

Frith and McRobbie's comparison of 'cock rock' with 'teenybop' (explored earlier in this chapter through the music of girl groups) offers additional ways to consider how Claude's song can be coded as masculine. 'Cock rock' performers are 'aggressive, dominating, and boastful, and they constantly seek to remind the audience of their prowess, their control [. . .] the lyrics are assertive and arrogant'

(1991: 319). Claude's lyrics in this section of the song certainly illustrate the boastful, assertive and arrogant nature of this style of music:

> I got my hair, I got my head, I got my brains, I got my ears.
> I got my eyes, I got my nose, I got my mouth, I got my teeth.
> I got my tongue, I got my chin, I got my neck, I got my tits.
> I got my heart, I got my soul, I got my back, I got my ass.
> I got my arms, I got my hands, I got my fingers, got my legs,
> I got my feet, I got my toes, I got my liver, got my blood.
>
> (Rado & Ragni, 1967: 51-52)

Furthermore, the way in which these lyrics are 'hammered' out, almost in a relentless barrage of words (which perhaps would have been historically referred to in musical theatre as the patter or list song) indicate an additional form of rhythmic aggression. This is most clearly seen in bars 12 to 16.

It is interesting to note that all of Claude's songs are essentially interior, that is, they focus on him or his feelings. This could largely be due to the fragmented structure of the musical in that, Claude's narrative arc tenuously weaves through the entire musical and constitutes the only linear narrative in *Hair* and therefore he could be considered the main protagonist. However, his songs do little to progress the storyline or offer a micro-narrative which outlines one of the larger societal concerns of the sixties (for further information on song structure and micro-narratives, see appendix C), nor are they focused on 'emoting'. Instead, their focus appears to be on Claude himself and the songs serve as an opportunity for the character to tell us more about him. They appear to be largely ego-driven, for example, 'Manchester, England'; in which he even refers to himself in third person. In this instance, illeism might point to narcissism but could also be read as Claude removing himself from the narrative or employing self-irony. However, it is also worth noting the use of the personal pronoun, 'I' throughout many of his

musical numbers;[58] their excessive use is perhaps a further indication of narcissism and egocentrism. Although these songs (and, most notably, his act one finale song, 'Where Do I Go?') mark Claude as the key protagonist, he is not the only character to reveal his interior thoughts. In fact, the musical moment where this happens most convincingly is with Sheila ('Easy to be Hard'). These two songs are particularly interesting in that their interiority allows the audience to empathise with the characters. His other songs tend to function as lists; we learn a great deal about his pursuits, interests and beliefs, but very little about how he feels about others and the world around him. It is only at the end of act one that the audience understands his moral dilemma in its fullest extent. All of Claude's other songs refrain from such emotive interiority and it might be that Claude is adopting a mask, that of the Sturdy Oak, in rehearsing his masculinity. Whilst Berger (discussed later in this chapter) retains his Sturdy Oak mask throughout, it seems that Claude is still rehearsing some of the normative traits of masculinity in his musical material.

Frith and McRobbie note that the discourse surrounding late sixties rock was not focused on its countercultural origins but instead on the way in which it was 'consolidated as the central form of mass youth music in its cock rock form, as a male form of expression', noting that whilst the commercialisation of rock 'n' roll in the fifties was a process of feminisation, whereas in the sixties, the same process for rock was that of masculinisation (1991: 327). As Wollman notes however, the terms rock 'n' roll and rock are 'exasperatingly difficult to define' but nevertheless carry with them ideological and sociological connotations (2006: 2-3). These connotations might indeed suggest that Claude is rehearsing hegemonic masculinity in that traditionally, the characteristics and practices of the rock musician tended to reinforce the dominance of the male musician over the female groupie. Certainly, rock music is imbued with homosocial meanings.

[58] 'Where Do I Go?' and 'I Got Life' are two such examples; the former contains 17 mentions of the personal pronoun, the latter 63. Even when compared with other similar songs (e.g. Sheila's 'I Believe in Love' which contains only seven mentions) this is excessive.

Musical numbers and dialogue featuring Claude generally point towards his complex relationship with hegemonic masculinity and his struggle to conform to – or reject - the requirements of this dominant view of manhood. Indeed, the only discernible linear narrative of the musical is solely focused on this predicament. Ultimately, Claude subscribes to such requirements by joining the army and it is particularly interesting to note that even in the final scenes, as Claude is being killed, he attempts to assert his individuality by using the personal pronoun once more; 'I am human being, number 1005963297', but the identification number only confirms his subscription into both the army, and society, as he fulfils the performance of masculinity required as essential to his civic duty.

Subordination: Woof

Connell remarks that '. . .there are specific gender relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men' and that one of the most important examples of this in contemporary society is that of homosexuality where 'gay men are subordinated to straight men by an array of quite material practices' (2013: 257). As previously noted, hegemonic masculinity always prompts notions of resistance and struggle and 'homosexual masculinity simultaneously depends on and disrupts the existing gender order' (Connell, 1992: 735). Sexuality therefore becomes a key determining social practice in structuring relations within our understanding of masculinity. Connell argues that homosexuality is often considered a 'negation' of masculinity and sexual contact between men is 'expelled from the legitimate repertoire of dominant groups of men', thus redefining hegemonic masculinity as heterosexual (736). Homosexuality also becomes conflated with femininity, largely to define and reaffirm 'masculinity' as being exclusively heterosexual. Although Connell notes that homosexuality is not the only subordinated form of masculinity, it is certainly the most conspicuous. Indeed, many traits normatively associated – albeit tenuously – with femininity are also 'expelled from the circle of legitimacy'. The practices and traits of the subordinated homosexual could result in, for example, 'political and cultural exclusion' ranging to 'legal violence (such as imprisonment under sodomy

statutes)' (ibid.). *Hair* refers directly to the latter in the song 'Sodomy', which functions as an introduction to the character Woof.

In the original script, there is no indication that Woof is homosexual, other than in the title and lyrics of his song. Although there is mention of cunnilingus, the other lyrics focus firmly on masculine sexual practices (fellatio, pederasty). Perhaps more illuminating is the score, which deviates significantly from the chordal and melodic structure of other songs performed by male characters. The opening chord sequence shown in the first six bars is more complex than that which underpins the songs of Claude or Berger. Moving from chord I (G major), the sequence progresses through B minor, E minor, and A major before it arrives at its first (imperfect) cadence.

As McClary proposes, any deviation from the standard chord structure which focuses on the relationship between tonic and dominant, must be subdued in order to reach resolution. She argues that, in referring specifically to cadences and closures, a 'feminine ending [is] one that refuses the hegemonic control of the barline' (1991: 11). It is interesting to note McClary's ideas surrounding the sixth degree of the scale, in that, she proposes there is a 'strong gravitational tendency in tonal music for six [. . .] to resolve down to five, which belongs to the ("masculine") tonal triad' (157). Thus, the sixth can create a 'delicious tension'; in 'Sodomy' the sixth chord does not resolve immediately to the dominant but delays this occurrence by another three bars.

This chordal deviation, or rather, negation of the tonic/dominant relationship established in the music of other male characters, perhaps indicates a queering of this relationship or, perhaps more appropriately, an act of resistance against tonal closure. By using McClary's observations here, I am aware that defining Woof's music in this manner risks defining difference on the axis of a gendered binary. However, I am more concerned with how this music may be read as Woof resisting hegemonic masculinity through queering standard tonal cadential practices. Whilst the observations made here about the nature of Woof's music

seem tenuous, it is worth outlining how they contrast with the other 'introductory' songs of three of the main, male character, in order to highlight how this character's music may be considered as an act of 'queering'.

Berger's opening introduction, 'Donna' is structured firmly around the tonic and dominant chords, the latter of which also serves as a temporary tonal centre in the chorus. Similarly, Claude's introduction, 'Manchester, England', focuses solely on chords I-IV-V – frequently referred to as the power chord pattern - with absolutely no deviation from this standard structure. Even Hud's introduction ('Colored Spade', which is interrogated in detail in chapter two), uses only chords I and V, albeit with a complex funk bass line. When contrasted against these three numbers, it is clear that Woof's music deviates from the standard 'masculine' structure established in other songs. Whilst it is counter-intuitive to assert that music is gendered, it is certainly worthwhile defining the distinctions between these songs as they potentially reveal the 'structure of power relations in society' and illuminate how such texts 'naturalise[s] certain socially produced values and behaviours, leading to the structural reinforcement of gender inequalities' (De Boise, 2014: 228). In the context of *Hair,* Woof's song serves to place him outside the emerging order of masculinity. This is further reinforced in both the film version (1979) and the 2009 Broadway revival of the musical. In the former, Woof is asked if he is homosexual and although he states that he isn't, he also asserts that he 'wouldn't kick Mick Jagger out of bed'.[59] The link to the popular musician is also made in the 2009 revival, where Woof is seen embracing and kissing a poster of the popular music icon. As Whiteley asserts in her 1997 chapter on the icon, 'Jagger promised fantasy gratification to both the heterosexual and the homosexual [. . .] his performance style opened up definitions of gendered masculinity and so laid the foundations for self-invention and sexual plasticity'[60]

[59] The film version of *Hair* is not the predominant form of media explored in this thesis. It sits apart from the stage musical quite significantly in that the plot, and characters, are altered to become more 'palatable' to a wider audience.

[60] It is interesting to note that Jagger's somewhat fluid approach to identity through his performance styles (the superimposing of 'cock rock' against his ambiguous sexuality) somewhat echoes Claude's

(67), which was largely due to his on-stage performance which exuded 'both a sense of female eroticism and the polymorphic' (76).

Bryce Ryness' vocal performance as Woof in the 2009 revival is also overtly feminine, as exemplified in the vocal agility he displays in the final coda of the song. As the song reaches closure on the tonic, it could be argued that Woof is still somewhat resisting the masculine ending by 'queering' the voice. The song itself is already written firmly in the tenor range, ending on a G above C4. However, Ryness takes this further into the falsetto range by ascending in intervals of a tone to end on B (just below C5). As numerous scientific studies note,[61] the voice is of particular importance in terms of transsexuality and the denotation of gender, indeed, Spiegel (2006) identifies that 'physical appearance positively influences the perception of femaleness while the voice tends to negatively influence the perception of femaleness' (77). Furthermore, as Koestenbaum argues in *The Queen's Throat,* the language used to condemn the falsetto technique 'reflects - or foreshadows - the discourse of homosexuality' and the techniques used to produce this sound were 'associated with degeneracy, detour, and artifice' (in Fuss, 1991: 218). Interestingly, Koestenbaum also asserts that puberty is 'particularly invoked when a singer moves between registers' (219). When applying such arguments to Woof and his musical material, it can be proposed that the end result is one of both fluidity and resistance; his musical and dramatic performances indicate a queering of the normative expectations of masculinity, whilst his musical material and vocal agency in particular, indicate a resistance against both masculinity and adult patriarchy.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the voice is considered to be a metaphor of agency and self-representation and in this portrayal of Woof, the voice is venturing into what is historically considered to be a female vocal range and, as

performances and his utilisation of cock rock and folk rock to perhaps indicate the fluid nature of his own sexuality and performance of masculinity.

[61] Neumann & Welzel (2004), Spiegel (2006), Davies & Goldberg (2006), Hancock & Garabedian (2012)

Koestenbaum expands, is linked to the discourse surrounding homosexuality. This connection to gender confirms Woof's expulsion from the circle of legitimacy which, when coupled with the additional connection to homosexuality, places the character of Woof firmly in the category of masculine subordination.

Marginalisation: Hud

As Connell notes, both gender and class are integral structures which contribute to the organisation of relationships between masculinities. However, as discussed extensively in chapter two of this thesis, race also plays a crucial part in determining a social order and this is also true of the 'dynamic between masculinities' (Connell in McGann, 2013: 259). Donald Bogle's 2001 publication discussing the history of blacks in film illuminates one of the more pervasive stereotypes assigned to the black male; that of the buck, whose sexual prowess is cause for fear amongst white women.[62] Additionally, Connell asserts that a similar stereotype exists in sport, where black athletes embody 'masculine toughness'[63] and, furthermore, 'hegemonic masculinity among whites sustains the institutional oppression and physical terror that have framed the making of masculinities in black communities'. Throughout this thesis, I have used the term marginal to represent those who are excluded from the hegemonic discourse on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, and class. In chapter two, I have detailed the systemic inequalities in American society which have ensured that African Americans in particular remain firmly in the margins, and in doing so, I have outlined some of the structures (embedded and promulgated by white, masculine hegemonic discourse) which have not granted them equal access to living standards and career prospects. By her own admission, Connell dislikes the term 'marginalisation' but instead clarifies that the nomenclature arises from being 'always relative to the authorization of the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant group' (ibid.).

[62] Bogle traces the introduction of this stereotype to the film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915).
[63] Connell also makes it clear that black atheletes may be applauded for their physical prowess but do not always enjoy the financial rewards connected to outstanding sportsmanship.

In chapter two, I also argued that Hud's lyrics in the song 'Colored Spade' indicated the shifting status of African Americans in society through expressing their past and progressing to the liminal stage which offered various potentialities (in this case, becoming 'President of the United States of love'). Connell also argues that the character types assigned to various masculinities are not fixed but instead represent 'configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships' (in McGann, 2013: 259). As such, these practices ensured that the African American stereotypes mentioned above were cemented and promulgated, largely as a result of racial oppression and economic abrogation; these factors are clearly outlined in Hud's lyrics which illuminate the lack of opportunity afforded to blacks in America. However, it is interesting to note Connell's reference to the changing structure of relationships and practices; this is clearly seen in both *Hair* and in Hud's material in particular. Hud's performance specifically crystallises the aims of the Civil Rights movement and although he draws upon stereotypes in his musical material, he is reclaiming these and re-appropriating them to communicate the singular experience of African Americans. These are stated for a specific purpose; to promote black power and to suggest that African Americans will achieve equal status in society. By association therefore, we are able to consider that black masculinity may also be subject to shifts and changes in practices.

Whilst I have argued that Hud's music still focuses on the chordal structure of tonic and dominant, the analysis in chapter two clearly outlines how its roots are embedded in West African and African American musical traditions. Although *Hair* is perhaps a little early in the chronological development of funk, I believe it is a suitable categorisation for Hud's music as it captures 'both the complex, and often contradictory feelings of optimism, ambivalence, disillusionment, and despair that accompanied the transition from a segregated to a post-civil rights society' (Maultsby, 2015: 301). The funk bass line, which is prominent in the song, sets it apart from the other introductory songs, albeit in a relatively nuanced manner. The chapter also outlined ways in which African American music was marginalised

in terms of the manner in which popular music is consumed (the fact that 'black' music had its own billboard chart indicates this).

Similarly, the contribution of African American music to the development of rock n' roll in America is often marginalised in popular music studies. Such denigration is illuminated in Frith's work on the ideology of rock:

> The value of black music lies not in its solutions to musical problems, not in its performers' technical expertise in interpreting a formal, written piece of music, but in its emotional impact [. . .] the qualities that are valued in spontaneous music-making are emotional rather than technical, musicians are judged for their honesty, sincerity, passion.
>
> (1978: 178)

Here, Frith has labelled African American music as emotional; the musicians that perform this style of music are honest, passionate and sincere but clearly not necessarily technically skilled. This is echoed later in his work where he states that black music's most obvious influence on pop is its rhythmic nature and, as a result, it became a mass cultural form of dance music; 'the most obvious feature of dancing as an activity is its sexuality [. . .] black music celebrates sex' (180). It can be argued that the stereotypes assigned to the black male, in terms of his hyper-sexuality, are also pervasive in how we studied popular African American musical forms, for example; 'deeply embedded in rock ideology is the assumption that while black music is valuable as an expression of vitality and excitement [. . .] it lacks the qualities needed for individual expression' (181). Rather than recognising how musics develop over time and as a result of cultural cross-pollination, Frith's analysis in 1978 seems to significantly marginalise the influence of African American music on the development of rock and popular music in the twentieth century. However, it should be noted that Frith's later work on music and identity (in Hall and du Gay, 1996) reflects an altered position that is less concerned with how music reflects the people, 'but how it produces them [and] constructs an experience [. . .] that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a

subjective and collective identity' (109). Here he considers identity as mobile and our experience of music as 'self-in-process' (ibid.)

Hud's role in the musical is also marginalised. Beyond his opening introductory song, it appears that he is not a key member of the Tribe, later performing interchangeable roles in other act two numbers ('Yes I's Finished/Abie Baby'), that were merely written to be performed by a black member of the cast. Whilst it could be argued that the singularity of the African American condition is highlighted and communicated at several points throughout the musical, this same interchangeable status is not afforded to Claude or Berger (or indeed, Sheila). Furthermore, although the music is careful to acknowledge its roots, there are instances throughout the original libretto where Hud is set apart from the rest of the Tribe through the use of derogatory language:

Hud:	Walla walla Gooba gooba
Claude (as interpreter):	Hud is mean. Hud is bad.
Hud:	Walla walla Booga booga
Claude:	Hud whips women. Hud is happy.

(Rado & Ragni, 1967: 395)

This section of dialogue moves beyond derision and is perhaps the most openly racist section of the musical. Not only is Hud set apart from others in the Tribe by speaking in a different tongue (in a manner which is even more offensive than the mere use of Pidgin English), but he also requires a white man to interpret for him. When the interpretation is offered, we see the stereotype of the black buck is prevalent once more. The above section has been removed from subsequent

productions, perhaps because it significantly dilutes the impact of the proceeding song, but undoubtedly because it is essentially, extremely racist.

Similar derogatory treatment is afforded to Hud in the 1979 film version of *Hair.* On screen, Hollywood's obsession with 'alternate fantasies of black males' lustful desire for the white, blonde woman' (Kaplan, 1997:65) is embodied in Hud and the scene in which he is presented with the dilemma of staying with the mother of his child or continuing to live with the Tribe, where he is due to father another child with Jeannie. This scene is highly problematic, particularly for the feminist spectator; both women are portrayed as the bearer, rather than maker of meaning and only appear to represent 'maternal plenitude' (Mulvey in Thornham, 1999:59). The obvious connotation therefore is that Hud is both hyper-sexual and irresponsible. The other Tribe members (including both Berger and Woof) watch the unfolding scene which presents Hud as violent, aggressive and amoral:

Hud's Fiancée:	Is that your child or isn't it?
Hud:	What kind of question is that? Maybe it is and maybe it isn't.
Hud's Fiancée:	Well all I'm talking about is Lafayette Junior here is your child and I just wanna know if that's gonna be your child too?
Hud:	Never mind, come on. COME ON!
Hud's Fiancée:	Where are we going?
Hud:	I'm taking you to the bus, you're going back home.
Hud's Fiancée:	I don't wanna go back home

Hud:	COME ON! Look, you're going back home, you understand me?
Hud's Fiancée:	I wanna stay with you
Hud:	You can't
Hud's Fiancée:	Why not?
Hud:	Because you can't, that's why not and I said so.
Hud:	GODDAMN IT WOMAN, I ain't no Lafayette. Shit, don't you understand nothing?[64]

(*Hair,* 1979)

Although it can be argued that the score of *Hair* celebrates African American music, it is clear that the libretto, and the subsequent screenplay of the film, both fall into the trap of portraying Hud in such a manner that relies on the stereotype of the black buck. His hyper-sexuality and aggression is highlighted in both instances and this not only marginalises the character further but also magnifies the traits that society assigns to black masculinity. This, coupled with the actual lived experience of African Americans in sixties society, only confirms Hud's marginalised status. More recent revivals (2009 and 2016) rely less heavily on portraying Hud as hyper-sexualised; his difference – or marginality – is distinguished in other ways. In the former, Hud relies on recalling the era of the Civil Rights movement more directly by evoking the memory of Rosa Parks and the bus boycott, along with performing the black power salute. In the latter, he bears a 'black lives matter' banner and also performs as one of the backing singers

[64] This section of dialogue has been directly transcribed from the film version, released in 1979.

in ‘Abie Baby’, wearing a white pair of gloves. This too recalls an earlier time of minstrelsy and although it can be argued that his hyper-sexuality has receded, his marginal status relies perhaps less on his performance of masculinity and more on his ethnicity and the historical resonances which accompany the lived experience of African Americans.

Complicity: Berger

Connell argues that men ‘may have some connection with the hegemonic project but do not embody hegemonic masculinity’ (2013: 258). This is certainly the case with Berger; he does not subscribe to any of the expectations and ideals of this project and this is established from the outset of the musical, where his gender is questioned:

> Berger: My name is George Berger. But I don’t dig George, so just call me Bananaberger. I know you people think right off, oh, look, dear, isn’t he a cute one, what is it a boy or a girl?
>
> (Rado & Ragni, 1967: 395)

Berger removes his forename which, I would argue, reinforces gender ambiguity perhaps to indicate his resistance to hegemonic masculinity. This is embellished further in the 2009 revival, where Berger is irreverent from the moment he enters the performance space. The nickname ‘Bananaberger’ is expanded into; ‘unzipper-berger’, ‘take ‘em down-berger’, and ‘pull ‘em off-berger’ all of which refer to him disrobing the lower half of his body. When reduced to nothing more than a skimpy undergarment, he enters the audience, begging for money. His actions here are interesting, in that they suggest he has ‘dropped out’; he is not self-sufficient and is unable to financially provide for himself (and potentially, the Tribe). This relates back to Brannon’s male sex-role of the Big Wheel, in that, men are expected to be the breadwinner and work to financially provide for their nuclear family. Berger’s inability – perhaps by choice - to be financially self-sufficient indicates a resistance to hegemonic masculinity.

This section of dialogue segues into Berger's first (introductory) song; 'Donna', his 'sixteen-year-old virgin'. As Wollman notes, the song 'emphasizes his sexual prowess by singing of his lustful search' and 'inadvertently sets the tone for the masculine bent the rest of the show takes' (2014: 3). Whilst the lyrics appear to reinforce masculine dominance, the final coda also reveals something more complex:

Berger: And I'm gonna show her life on Earth can be sweet/
Gonna lay my mutated head at her feet/
And I'm gonna love her, make love to her
Till the sky turns brown/

Lookin' for my Donna/lookin' for my Donna/
Lookin' for Madonna/Donna!

(Rado et al., 1967: 15-16, 18)

The inclusion of the word 'Madonna' is a clever linguistic ploy, often missed by the audience, but reveals another aspect of Berger's attitude towards women. Firstly, he appears to somewhat denigrate the female form in his fixation towards the young virgin. Wollman argues that this immediately sexualises and objectifies women (2014:3), but, when coupled with the second reference to 'Madonna', speaks more clearly of Berger's assertion of his own heterosexuality. This song essentially cancels out the gender ambiguity he has first presented to the audience, thus affirming that his chosen sexual partner is female which subsequently reaffirms his own masculinity. His reference to the Roman Catholic representation of the virgin Mary also suggests a reverence towards women; literally translated as 'my Lady', Madonna has connotations with virginity, purity, and as mother of Jesus, is often represented as the queen of heaven. Indeed, for Catholics, the Madonna is portrayed as 'the only Mother of God, the spiritual mother of us all, as well as our sister in the Church' (Jelly, 1986: 9). She is, of course, to be revered and although Berger is making reference to the

original/ultimate virgin, this is far from sexual. As mentioned above, the insertion of this play on words is complex, but certainly could suggest that Berger reveres women as equally as the song seems to suggest he denigrates them. Moreover, the song serves to assert his masculinity through the lens of heterosexuality. The connection with the church and its attendant rituals and icons places Berger into the realm of hegemonic masculinity (as mentioned above, priests are one of the many 'weavers of the fabric' of this form of hegemony). It is interesting to note that the religious connotation inherent in these lyrics is reiterated in one of Berger's later songs; 'Going Down'. Aside from another probable play on words (here, possibly a double entendre), 'Going Down' erases any potential reverence towards the spiritual icons of the church and instead, Berger aligns himself with Lucifer, explaining that he has been 'doomed from here to eternity' as a result of being expelled from high school.

What can be concluded from examining these songs is that Berger's approach to the performance of masculinity is fluid. Whilst he appears to subscribe to the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity and, in places, attempts to conform, he is equally as quick to subvert – or resist – such ideologies, for example, the title song of the show is sung as a duet between him and Claude, in which they take pride in wearing their hair long, and in 'Don't Put It Down' - often read as a desecration of the American flag - he pronounces, 'cause I look different, you think I'm subversive'. It appears from these songs and their associated scenes that Berger ultimately resists the ideals of hegemonic masculinity but is quick to identify with them when there is a perceived benefit. This is elucidated in his attitude towards Sheila.

In the previous part of this chapter, I outlined the ways in which Sheila embodied some of the early values of the second wave feminist movement. However, as Wollman explains, certain aspects of her character are problematic in that, she appears in places, to be utterly subordinate to the character of Berger. This is perhaps most clearly outlined in the scene where she presents him with the gift of a shirt:

Sheila (*Holding up yellow satin shirt to Claude)*:	
	Sheila brought back Berger a beautiful yellow shirt [. . .]
Berger:	Ooooooooo, Sheila! My eyes cannot behold such beauty…
	Ooooooooo, Sheila, you really shouldn't have….I'm turned on, flipped out, switched on…you really shouldn't have done it. It's too boss, a groove, a gas. Send me to Saigon, it's the grassy end….it's just superlative…
Sheila:	Berger, stop it…you like it?

(Rado & Ragni, 1967: 425)

Here, Sheila referring to herself in third person is somewhat problematic and could be understood in a number of ways. Firstly, it could be suggestive of a child-like response which establishes her subservience to Berger and, by implication, his domination of her. This is perhaps less likely given that Sheila uses this technique in the first instance, slightly earlier in the scene, to give instructions to Berger; 'Berger has to help Sheila make posters' (1967: 425). Secondly, this could possibly be a dramatic device which prompts the audience to think more critically about the issues being presented, particularly given the scene that follows this section of dialogue (discussed below). Berger appears to be complicit in his response to the practices and ideals of hegemonic masculinity in that, he recognises that there are 'extensive compromises with women [required] rather than naked domination or an uncontested display of authority' (Connell, 2013: 258) and although it is clear from his sarcastic wit that he dislikes the gift, he accepts it, recognising that this form of negotiation will result in benefit. Furthermore, Berger's hyperbolic

expression of praise for the shirt perhaps indicates that he is 'performing' his compromise with Sheila; the excessive nature of this dialogue perhaps indicates that this would not be Berger's normal mode of response. However, the scene immediately shifts and the dialogue continues thus:

> Berger
>
> *(Suddenly very angry):* Don't tell me to stop. You always do that. You don't allow me to have any friends, you're jealous, suspicious, you use the double standard, you test me, spy on me, you nag, nag, nag, you won't allow me to be myself, you follow me, you're always picking a fight, and then you expect me to love you…well, I can't have sex that way…sex! That's the last thing I'd want….
>
> (Rado & Ragni, 1967: 425)

Nothing has prompted this outburst other than Sheila's enquiry as to whether he likes the shirt. Sheila responds in a troubling fashion; instead of rejecting Berger's angry outburst she instead appears more complicit by replying; 'Berger, you're so crazy, I adore you. Please put it on' (426). It appears that Berger has employed all possible techniques to assert his masculinity; compromise (through a sarcastic list of superlatives), naked domination (through his angry outburst asserting his authority) and finally through an uncontested display of authority exemplified in the problematic rape scene.[65] The stage directions read as follows:

> [*Note:* BERGER *has just fucked* SHEILA *in public. Or rather* raped *her in public.* BERGER *has had his orgasm. She was fighting him off and reacts to his attack*]
>
> (426)

As Wollman notes, the real love story in *Hair* is, in fact between Claude and Berger, a storyline perhaps dictated by the romantic relationship between Rado and Ragni themselves, and indicative of the Hippie era in which men were often

[65] It is worth noting that the rape scene was omitted from the original Broadway production.

openly affectionate to each other. The fluid attitude towards both masculinity and sexuality is evident in the character of Berger. At times, he clearly rejects hegemonic masculine values, although is obviously willing to subscribe to such values when it most benefits him, elucidated clearly in those moments where he emphasises his heterosexuality. Indeed, later in the act, Berger 'gives' Sheila away to Claude; 'a bizarre variant on the age-old patriarchal right of men to use and trade women as if they are property' (Bottoms in Wollman, 2014: 4). Berger is complicit in the systematic subordination of women, even though the end result is to communicate his affection for Claude:

Berger:	I'll make a deal with you.
Sheila:	Sheila's the faithful kind.
Berger:	You do it tonight with Claude; I'll do it tomorrow night with you.
Sheila:	A Berger barter!
Berger:	Sheila, we got this big going-away scene planned for Claude. If you do this for Claude, it'll make it perfect. He loves you, love.
Sheila:	Claude is a boy for going. It takes a man to say no.

(450)

It is particularly interesting to note Sheila's final line of dialogue in this section; although it is Claude that has ultimately subscribed to the requirements of hegemonic masculinity, Sheila still views Berger as the dominant masculine presence. I believe this is due to his domination and control over her, and, regardless of Berger's unwillingness to subscribe to normative expectations, he is still labelled a 'man'. As mentioned previously, hegemonic masculinity functions

as an ‘aspirational goal rather than as a lived reality for ordinary men’, but most men are complicit with hegemonic masculinity because ‘they benefit from the dominant definition both as a source of fantasy gratification and, more practically, through the systematic subordination of women’ (Wetherell and Edley, 1999: 337). The dialogue and lyrics examined in this discussion illuminate Berger’s fluid approach to masculine identity. His first appearance, interactions with the audience and his relationship with Claude indicate a resistance to the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity but he is equally as willing to comply when he perceives benefit; ‘hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion’ (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). Upon initial examination, Berger can be seen to be a character who occupies a rebellious position; one who flouts the ideals of hegemonic masculinity. However, this is to over-simplify the matter somewhat and, as Wetherell and Edley assert, it is not enough to merely consider whether men are either complicit or resistant towards hegemonic masculinity but to consider that they can be ‘mixed together’, more useful instead to ‘reposition complicity or resistance as labels to describe the effects of discursive strategies mobilized in contexts’ (352). This perfectly summarises the multiplicities of Berger’s character; he resists the ideals of hegemonic masculinity throughout most of the musical but clearly benefits from patriarchal domination in terms of his relationship towards Sheila.

In her 2014 article, Wollman cites original Broadway cast member, Natalie Mosco, in asserting that the production was ‘a male point of view because they were the ones being sent [to Vietnam], and the girls weren’t’ (5). Whilst this leads to the conclusion that the musical is inherently sexist, particularly in its ‘conservative treatment of women’ (ibid.), this chapter has shown how widening the debate beyond the central characters has revealed a more fluid approach to gender. The analysis presented has shown how the character of Sheila is worthy of further examination and how, in her musical material, she rebels against some of the traditional tropes of the Broadway stage that served to define women only in

relation to men. *Hair*'s treatment of its ancillary characters shows a more progressive attitude towards gender; one which is more reflective of the early second wave feminist movement. It is worth noting that *Hair*'s treatment of men was equally less conservative, in that, masculine performativity is not simply communicated as hegemonic and *Hair*'s characters appear to be concerned with either rebelling against notions of accepted masculinity or adopting a more fluid approach to the performance of masculinity. Furthermore, the women's liberation movement prompted significant thought in terms of our understanding of multiple masculinities, or rather, patterns of practice that formed and reiterated notions of what constituted 'masculinity'. Long before Connell's ground-breaking work in this area, *Hair* was experimenting with ways in which multiple masculinities could be represented on-stage, as a true reflection of the societies attitudes towards gender and its associated performance. Indeed, as mentioned previously, if we are to accept that socially, and culturally, the length of our hair has symbolic meaning, then nowhere are the musical's attitudes towards gender better embodied than in its very title.

Chapter 4: *Hair* and Rebellion

As discussed in previous chapters, the sixties in America was a time of social upheaval and political contention, which often resulted in group violence. As Gurr states in his impressive volumes on violence in America, 'the origins, processes, and outcomes of group violence [. . .] have to be understood and dealt with in their social context. They arise out of the imperfect but perfectable nature of American society, and they should inform our understanding of what that society does and does not do for its citizens' (1989: 9). Gurr's choice of words here resonate with the events of the early sixties. On January 20th, 1961, John F. Kennedy delivered his inaugural address to the nation, which culminated in a call to civic action and public service:

> And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country.
>
> My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.
>
> (Kennedy, 1961)

Whilst these words may have signalled a new age, an age of hope and change in American society, it is clear there is much to be contested here; those who did not experience the 'freedom of man' in their own country were essentially being asked to still consider what *they* could do for a country that did not grant them equal rights and opportunities. As with most inaugural addresses, Kennedy recalled a halcyon age (as discussed in earlier chapters), where America's fascination with looking back in order to renew and revive was captured perfectly. Similar fascinations with looking back were also evident on the Broadway stage.

Indeed, the sixties on Broadway began with *Camelot* (1960), one of Kennedy's favourite musicals and his tenure in the White House has become known as 'The Age of Camelot', signalling the youth, vitality, style and glamour that the Kennedys brought to the presidential office (Malone, 2013). Other productions of the early sixties signalled that the musical was still somewhat concerned with

political issues; *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), and later, *Cabaret* (1966). However, whilst *West Side Story* (1957) had dealt with socio-political issues of America in the fifties, Broadway releases in the sixties seemed to revert to the musical's central concern of nostalgia; the act one finale of *Fiddler on the Roof* depicts a pogrom in Imperial Russia in 1905 and although *Cabaret's* history could be considered more recent, it is clear that Broadway was still largely concerned with telling stories of the past. In her article entitled 'What it Used to Be', Rebecca Rugg goes so far as to proclaim that 'nostalgia is the prime dramaturgical mode of musical theatre. It steers not only the course of audience response and show structure but also marketing strategies, the critical machine, and the settings of productions themselves' (2002: 45). In surveying musicals of the Golden Age, Rugg notes that these productions promoted a sense of cultural nostalgia, which 'allows no room for individual difference' and conflates both the audience and a 'historic America'; all people the same, all expected to experience the production in the same manner (46). One of the ways in which this sense of nostalgia was communicated was through the means of a linear narrative with events portrayed in chronological order and coherent narrative arcs assigned to each character. So, for example, whilst *Cabaret* interspersed songs performed in the Kit Kat Club, which served as a metaphor for the growing unease in Germany, its' narrative is still communicated through the traditional book musical format. Rugg asserts that whilst the 'dramaturgy of nostalgia may aim for simplification, it consistently and self-consciously fails by presenting a complex national portrait' (47) and perhaps this was much more keenly felt in an era of political and social upheaval. Broadway musicals were selling and promoting a kind of nostalgia that felt oddly out-of-step with the social climate and, in response, off-Broadway and off-off-Broadway work seemed to challenge the passivity of the audience. This chapter seeks to outline and explore the ways in which *Hair* challenged the established canon of musical theatre repertoire through experimentation with the form and structure of the musical. In turn, it will illuminate the ways in which *Hair* can be considered as an act of rebellion against the conventions of the genre.

Hair's roots in experimental theatre meant it was less concerned with character arcs or the traditional format of the book musical. Indeed, even when *Hair* moved to Broadway, disassociating itself further from its experimental roots, it still maintained 'a disarmingly rough-edged, almost casual feel about it, which set it at some remove from other commercial musicals' (Bottoms, 2004: 211). This is perhaps evidenced in other musicals opening on Broadway in the years prior to its release; in the four years prior to *Hair*'s opening on Broadway, musicals set in earlier times, outnumbered musicals in a contemporary setting by two to one,[66] which illustrates Broadway's fascination with, and reticence in discarding its tried and tested formats. Moreover, these musicals still adopted the traditional linear narrative format to tell these earlier stories. *Hair's* structure – or lack thereof – was, in many ways, an act of resistance against the established order of Broadway musicals. The inability to categorise its structure is one of the ways in which *Hair* presented utopian alternatives for the future form of the musical; the established hierarchy of the book musical was questioned and the somewhat epic structure served the purposes of its political concerns. Audience members were no longer passive agents, invited to participate in the enjoyment of cultural nostalgia, and the lack of an obvious coherent linear narrative calls to mind something of Brecht's 'gestus'; 'actions in performance that crystallize social relations and offer them to spectators for critical contemplation' (Dolan, 2005: 7).

In surveying *Hair's* unique structure, it is worth pausing to consider the micro-narratives the musical presents. In his publication uncovering the *Politics of Theatre and Drama,* Holderness asserts that post-modern approaches to theatre require 'the re-instatement of cultural diversity and pluralistic perception through the development of micro-narratives witnessing to the discrete and unassimilable experience of particular oppressed groups – women, racial and ethnic minorities, lesbians and gay men' (1991: 12). Therefore, it could be argued that *Hair's* narrative approach is post-modern. Postmodern approaches rely on the lived,

[66] This information was taken from the Internet Broadway Database, which reported that in the years of 1964 – 1968 of the 49 original musical opening on Broadway, 31 were set in an earlier time.

concrete experience, it is wary of explanations that claim to speak for all. Previously, musical narratives allowed 'no room for individual difference' (Rugg, 2002: 46) whereas *Hair* uses its narrative devices to ensure that difference is celebrated and often constructed as society grapples to understand particular and personal realities. Claude's indecision regarding national service is considered to be the macro-narrative, whilst scenes and more specifically, songs, present micro-narratives which reveal the concerns of oppressed groups, those on the margins of American society. (Songs in *Hair,* their functions and styles are outlined in appendix C). These self-contained episodes in many respects point toward an epic theatre approach to the narrative structure of the musical, borne out by the instruction in the score that 'there are no specific scenes. The setting indicates the fluid-abstract world of the 1960s' (Rado, Ragni, 1967: 2); each of these highlighted scenes present a picture of the world, considers human being as process and, as I have previously argued, stirs a capacity for action. In many cases, the human being presents their lived experience and highlights their condition, thus prompting the audience to become spectators.

This is further evinced by Bottoms' analysis of Charles Marowitz's review, in which he states that the Broadway and London productions 'discarded the representation of states-of-being for the states-of-being themselves, abandoning narrative and illusion in favour of vibrant immediacy' (2004: 211). Indeed, this review signals a radical departure from the Broadway musical's historical approach to presenting characters on stage which was far more concerned with representation, often resulting in stereotypes. This is perhaps best exemplified in Hud's 'Colored Spade' scene where he draws attention to previous representations of African Americans in order to highlight and then subsequently present the 'vibrant immediacy' of being African American in the sixties. Act two of *Hair* develops this further in 'Abie Baby', where the sense of rebellion is more strongly depicted. Interestingly, both songs refer back to a time of slavery and/or the inherent social apartheid in American society, using these observations as a way in which to express the lived experience of African-Americans. Furthermore,

the way in which these songs are structured in terms of content, and the subsequent ways they have been performed lend additional power to the ways in which they function. In 'Colored Spade', the chorus (or musical release) is particularly powerful in that it suggests that African Americans can indeed ascend to the highest office, (President, coupled with Berger's line referencing 'dinner at the White House') and will do so peacefully (the reference to 'love' is absolutely explicit). In the 2009 revival, with a black President actually in the White House, Hud (here performed by Darius Nichols) invites the audience to 'step to the back of the bus' at the opening of the number and then performs the Black Power salute throughout. These gestures have resonances that stretch back to the sixties[67] and communicate something of what it meant to be African American during the civil rights movement. Additionally, with the advent of the Black Lives Matter movement (established in 2012, following the acquittal of the murderer of Trayvon Martin), this material, and performance, continues to accumulate further resonances. For those audience members who cannot directly relate to what it meant to live through a time of social upheaval fifty years ago, they can at least use contemporary injustices against African Americans as a point of reference. In the case of 'Abie Baby', this too carries cultural, and contemporary, resonances. Performances of *Hair* have always used this moment to present the audience with the possibility of a black, female president; the song directly recalls Abraham Lincoln and his emancipation of the slaves. Beyond the song's final spoken line, the most powerful moment in terms of the content is the phrase 'emanci-mother fucking-pator of the slaves'; the suggestion here is that although the emancipation proclamation was signed in 1863, African Americans of the 1960s were still not experiencing the freedom and equality promised to all citizens in the American Declaration of Independence. Its contemporary resonance perhaps also lies in the fact that America had the opportunity to elect its first female President in 2016 and although Hillary Clinton won the popular vote, she failed to secure

[67] The Black Power salute was famously used by two athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, at the 1968 Olympics as they were on the podium about to receive gold and bronze medals respectively.

enough votes in the electoral college. The result was that President Trump, who had openly denigrated women (and non-whites), was inaugurated into office on January 20th, 2017. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter three, the way in which the song is performed in revivals is as a celebration of the black, female voice, which will clearly not be silenced. With the final text ('bang my ass, I ain't dying for no white man') the song is perhaps 'testament to both the anger and unquestionable hopes of dissidents' (Gurr, 1989: 102); its portrayal of a black, female president communicates a desire for change but the ending of the song depicts 'anger and despair about resistance to change', which, as Gurr proposes 'is often translated into rebellion' (ibid.).

The Audience and the Postdramatic

As discussed above, the Broadway musical favoured the conventions of what Szondi labels 'absolute drama', characterised by:

> the dominance of dialogue and interpersonal communication; the exclusion of anything external to the dramatic world (including the dramatist and the spectators, who are condemned to silent observation); the unfolding of time as a linear sequence in the present; and the adherence to the three unities of time, place and action.
>
> (Lehmann, 2006: 3)

In experimenting with its dramatic structure, *Hair* also flouted these conventions, most notably the realist performance convention of the fourth wall. Many of the micro-narratives discussed earlier in this chapter also rely on the performer breaking the fourth wall to establish a direct connection with the audience. Although this was an accepted practice in Off and Off-Off Broadway productions, it was rarely seen in Broadway musicals. As Szondi argues, drama in the twentieth century employed such techniques in response to 'the demands of modern "epic" social themes which could no longer be contained by [the previous] form' (ibid.). From the outset, audience members were greeted with the Tribe lying in aisles and sitting in audience seats, indeed, as Buchen remarks, 'the audience [. . .] generally is confused about when it is officially to begin watching, when it can

take a break for intermission and when it is permitted to leave. *Hair* does not so much start as appear to be already in motion' (1969: 91). This sense of the performance already in motion however, tends to point towards the postdramatic, rather than the epic form privileged by Szondi. In response, Lehmann argues that the epic form does not allow for a consideration of theatre without drama, 'without the representation of a closed-off fictional cosmos, the mimetic staging of a fable' (2006: 3). Indeed, at the start of *Hair*, as the audience enter the theatrical space, they are invited to view theatre as performance. Lehmann's theory of the postdramatic predominantly arose from the shift in North American and European art in the 1960s onwards; 'the emergence of [. . .] happenings, environments [. . .] all resulted in a renewed attention to the materiality of performance in theatre and in renewed challenges to the dominance of the text.' Postdramatic theatre explored 'the usually unacknowledged anxieties, pressures, pleasures, paradoxes and perversities that surround the performance situation' (Lehmann, 2006: 4).

Hair acknowledges such societal anxieties through its micro-narratives, which also relied on breaking the fourth wall, specifically 'Colored Spade' and 'Hair' and, as original cast member Natalie Mosco adds, such a technique gave cast members 'the license to perform and acknowledge that we were performing' (Mosco in Wollman, 2006: 48). It is interesting to note that in the original Off and Off-Off Broadway productions, the audience shared the theatrical space with the performers, the border between reality and theatre almost disappears, 'the aesthetic distance of the spectator [. . .] is structurally shaken in a more or less noticeable and provocative way' (Lehmann, 2006: 104). However, in later Broadway productions, particularly in the 2009 revival, the proscenium staging of the production reinforces the border and therefore, the performance instead has to rely on historical references to force the spectator to become more aware of reality, of theatre as performance, nowhere better exemplified than in Hud's invitation to the audience to 'step with him to the back of the bus', imploring an imagined, collective action.

Fischer-Lichte's discussion of *The Transformative Power of Performance* highlights the importance of the shared space in performance and proposes that where actor and spectator are required to participate in collective actions, such a community 'constituted a temporary social reality' (2008: 55). *Hair* offers moments where the audience can both interact with, and participate in collective actions. In the original Broadway production, the interaction between cast and audience is established from the outset; even in a proscenium arch setting, Berger moves into the auditorium to deliver his opening monologue, as seen in the still image available at: http://www.michaelbutler.com/hair/holding/photographs/hair/PhotoTime5-10-68.html

It is worth noting Berger's lack of clothing, which would also structurally shake the aesthetic difference between performer and spectator in a directly provocative way. This level of interaction was not unique to productions staged in the US. One audience member of the 1970 UK touring production recalls that members of the Tribe were already seated in the auditorium when the audience entered and this interaction continued throughout act one as Berger spent a great deal of time in the stalls and the cast moved around the audience space throughout the entire act; she recalls the Tribe dancing with, and touching audience members, whilst stepping over seats to do so.[68] Other audience members in this production recall dancing on stage, directly breaking the barrier of the fourth wall, although the shock felt during the nudity scene tended to be the over-riding, lasting emotion. In contemporary revivals (2009 Broadway and London revival, 2016 Manchester revival), the audience is required to interact with the performers in the act one song, 'Hair', as the cast move into the audience to touch and caress the hair of individual audience members. This moves to participation at the end of the performance, where the audience are invited to enter the theatrical space to dance and move to 'Let the Sunshine In'; in the 2009 revivals, this was no small

[68] With thanks to Judy Davies, Gail Mason and Sue Hudson for spending time recalling their experiences of seeing *Hair* in 1970-71.

feat given that audience members from all seating sections of the auditorium were ferried through backstage tunnels to facilitate their journey to the proscenium arch stage.

Indeed, whilst Buchen argues that the way in which *Hair* considers the audience suggests it exists in transition, in 'media res', a suitable development of such an argument might include a consideration that *Hair* dispenses with the established conventions of theatrical spectatorship in order to foster a wider community, or social reality, beyond that of the one existing on the stage or in the auditorium; player and spectator instead become one whole of the entire experience. This was most keenly felt and experienced in the 2009 revivals where, in the final bows, both cast and audience members were still on-stage. To speak of the audience as one collective body is to over-state the theatrical experience in this regard, however, the fact that audience members are placed in a position whereby they take final bows too suggests that, those who participated, have indeed become one whole of the experience. Perhaps more intriguingly, Fischer-Lichte cites such moments as 'liminal, transformative experiences' which suggest that 'utopian movement[s are] inherent in such performative communities' (54-55). These shared moments, which exist in contemporary performances of *Hair*, indicate that for a brief moment, the audience and performers have indeed become one community and that the role of the spectator is shifted to become complicit in the action.

Audiences and Spaces

The performance space itself is worthy of further discussion in terms of how *Hair* challenges and rebels against establishes conventions in Broadway theatre and therefore, offers utopian possibilities. Over its lifetime, *Hair* has been staged in a variety of venues; starting life at the Public Theatre (1967), with a brief run at the Cheetah Discotheque in December 1967 before moving to the Biltmore in 1968. Its West Coast production played at the Earl Carroll Theatre on Sunset Boulevard, California, which, in 1968, was specifically redecorated and renamed the Aquarius

Theatre as designation of its new home for the musical. There were also nine simultaneous US productions and national tours running at the same time as the Broadway production (an occurrence rarely seen in Broadway history). The original London production was staged at the Shaftesbury Theatre, its run surpassing Broadway's and curtailed only by the collapse of the theatre's roof. Other European productions followed in 1968, all with local references inserted into the script. Australasian productions began in 1969 and by 1970, productions had reached South America, Japan, Israel and Canada. Furthermore, revivals of *Hair* were staged as early as 1977 (Broadway) but were less frequent after the release of the film version in 1979. In the early nineties, *Hair* experienced a resurgence, perhaps in response to political events, epitomised in the production, *Hair Sarajevo, AD 1992,* staged during the siege of Sarajevo and a later revival in South Africa, where the production had previously been banned during the era of Apartheid. In 2005, a London production at the Gate Theatre revised the material to set the production in the context of the Iraq War. 2007 saw an open-air production, staged at the Delacorte Theatre in Central Park (which also included the cast appearing at a public 'Be-In' the following year), the success of which led to the 2009 Broadway revival, which returned to the Public and then transferred to the Al Hirschfeld, opening a London production at the Gielgud the following year. It is interesting to note how, throughout this extensive and varied production history, *Hair* has both informed, and been informed by political events and spaces.

In his discussion of 'margins and alternate orders', Hetherington examines how spaces can be considered 'utopic' in that, 'uncertain or incongruous spaces [provide] freedom, resistance, alternative moral order and authenticity' (1998: 129). He lists examples of such spaces which include cafes, communes and festival sites and asserts that such spaces 'will tend to be one which within that society is seen as somewhat marginal' (ibid.). The nomenclature of Off (and Off-Off) Broadway alone suggests that the performance spaces of the Public Theatre, Caffe Cino, La MaMa and Judson Memorial Church fall into this category; 'sites that

have a long association with radical or alternative political practices' (ibid.). These were the birthplaces of *Hair* and its brief transfer to the Cheetah discotheque perhaps further cements its relationship with marginal, utopic spaces. To clarify Hetherington's use of the term 'utopic':

> The utopic is a spatial practice in which ideas about a better society – defined as 'better' within a structure of feeling – are made visible through the spatial practice associated with the identity performances that occur there [. . .] They are spaces that come to be marginal of the difference and uncertainty that comes to surround them. That difference and uncertainty may be well established
>
> (1998: 130)

Furthermore, he asserts that these spaces facilitate acts of resistance by generating a place 'where there is no clearly defined order of how things should occur' (132). Drawing on the term coined by Foucault, he labels these spaces as 'heterotopia': they are not designated as such from the outset but it is the practice which occurs in the space that leads to its heterotopian designation and as a result, 'a sense of Otherness comes to hang over a site once it begins to be used in such a way' (ibid.). As Buchen notes, in analysing the performance at the Biltmore Theatre, the space has the appearance of a warehouse; 'the entire innards of the picture box are naked to view: scaffolding, parapets, suspended lights, hanging drops, sandbags, pipe-lined brick walls'. (1969: 91). The usual hidden apparatus of the theatrical space is open to the scrutiny of the audience and draws attention to the spatial uncertainty. Subsequent productions of *Hair* have also utilised similar staging methods. As illustrations show, the set for the 2009 Broadway revival for example, tried to maintain fidelity to the intentions of the original productions. (Scott Pask's set designs can be viewed here: http://www.livedesignonline.com/resourcecenterdesigngallery/scott-pasks-set-designs-hair).

Scott Pask's set design ensures that the innards of the theatrical space (in this case, the lighting rig on stage left and right, and the rear wall) are still apparent; revealing the mechanics of the production is a Brechtian device. A design

featuring the sun looms over the space (Pask's original drawings for this indicate this was the most prominent feature) and the truck (reminiscent of a Vietnam war military vehicle), has musicians loaded onto its rear end, eradicating boundaries between musicians and performers which had previously been enforced by the use of the orchestra pit. The placement of the rugs, down centre stage, also bleed into the balcony spaces constructed in the auditorium, thus suggesting a continuity between the performers and the audience.

It is quite possible that *Hair*'s incarnations in a variety of spaces, introduced members to the audience that perhaps might not be considered as regular theatre-goers. This coupled with a cast demographic rarely seen on Broadway undoubtedly contributed to an increased diversity in the audience; approximately one third of the cast was African American and both Horn (1991) and Wollman (2006) link the diversity of the casting to a more diverse Broadway audience. In an article in September 1968, featured in *New York Magazine*, audience members were surveyed and asked what they thought of *Hair.* Of those surveyed, 46% were under the age of thirty (compared to 3% for other Broadway productions, and around 18% for contemporary Broadway productions) and 7% were black. Opinions on the show differed wildly between the age demographics, with older audience members stating they intensely disliked the musical, whilst younger audience members felt it appealed to them on several levels.[69] Whilst it should be noted that Broadway is generally notorious for not keeping transparent, available data on audience ethnicity, recent efforts of the Broadway League Research Department is attempting to counteract this. On the assumption that *New York Magazine's* audience survey is merely a sample, and not systematically collected data, it can be presumed that on any given night, the audience may indeed consist

[69] A white woman over 30 said 'it was a crime to call it a musical'. Another said 'You can't compare Hair to other musicals. The others are clean fun'. A white male over 30 said 'It's much poorer than other musicals. There's no plot. It's just hogwash'. Another said '*Hair* doesn't belong on Broadway. It's an insult to the theatre and anything done previously'. However, a young black woman stated 'it's far superior because it's freer' whilst a young white man maintained 'it's not in the same league as other musicals. It's an actual reflection of what's happening' (Nash, 1968: 60-61)

of around 7% African Americans. However, Wollman reports that research conducted thirty years later found that the average Broadway audience was only 3.7% African American (2006: 55) and the recent demographic data released by the Broadway League Research Department shows not much has changed in contemporary audiences; in the 2014-2015 season (the period in which *Hamilton* opened at the Public Theatre), the percentage of black theatregoers was only 6%. In terms of casting, the demographics report that even less progress has been made. In the same season, African American actors in the Broadway commercial sector dropped to only 9% of all roles (from 21% in the 2013-14 season), 'one of the worst showings on record and leading to a net loss for the Broadway industry as a whole' (AAPAC, 2015: 4). The non-profit sector fared slightly better with the Public Theatre and *Hamilton* responsible for the employment of African American actors in 26% of all roles; a 13% rise from the previous season. Whilst it is clear from these statistics that the demographic of the cast appears to have little correlation with the demographic of the audience, there is no denying that Broadway is still not reflecting the levels of diversity seen in both the audience and the cast of the 1968 production of *Hair* and it is clear that its appeal stretched beyond the traditional Broadway audience.

Orchestration

Hair's ability to 'play' with both performance spaces and the established dramatic forms of the Broadway stage is also reflected in the orchestration of the piece. The musical is scored, in terms of its premiere on Broadway, somewhat unconventionally. Featuring the standard line-up of rock and roll (with an additional electric guitar), three trumpets, trombone and a single reed, the score also boasts a comprehensive list of percussion,[70] as discussed in chapter two. The piano part also includes music for organ and sitar. Macdermot's son, Vince, states that the sitar was used from *Hair's* very first incarnation and its use in the score

[70] The full list of percussion reads: bongo drums, conga drums, bell tree, marimba, tambourine, wood block, temple blocks, cabasa, maracas, gong, siren, castanets, ratchet, slapstick, Indian drums, quica and tubose.

was part of Rado and Ragni's intention to 'put on the stage what was happening in the street'; the fascination with Eastern spiritualism and religions did not go unnoticed in the creation of the musical (elsewhere in the dialogue, the following statement is uttered; 'transcendental meditation on the ocean of reality'). The sitar is used in the musical number 'The War' which features Buddhist monks and Catholic nuns; Vince MacDermot recalls that in early productions, the 'nuns used their rosary beads to choke the Indians' (2017). Beyond the suggestion of colonial attitudes and religion, it is interesting to note that Galt MacDermot was experimenting with the 'Eastern' sound perhaps around the same time as George Harrison was doing similar with the Beatles. 'Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown)' was the first Beatles release (1965) to feature the sitar, largely as a result of Harrison's exploration of Indian spiritual values and by 1968, 'all four Beatles were gripped by the idea of transcendence – getting above and beyond [. . .] finding out not so much who they were but who they had become and how to live that way' (Jones, 2017). The notion of 'getting above and beyond' resonates with many of the themes presented in *Hair*: the Tribe itself represents a better way of living, or rather, an alternative way of living, one that transcends the current time and place. The desire for a better world, a utopia, and exploring alternative options which may provide that was prevalent during the sixties and it is interesting to note how popular culture has influenced the orchestration of *Hair* to create a sense of there being an alternative world in the music alone.

Hair departs from the standard orchestration favoured for Broadway musicals; those musicals mentioned earlier in this chapter all feature at least five string parts and four (in most cases, five) reeds. The orchestration indicates that the score to *Hair* is eclectic, which is further cemented by the direction on the opening page which reads; 'in place of an overture the lead guitarist improvises "Outer Space Flying Saucer Pyramid" music[71] in the style of Jimi Hendrix. During

[71] In an email conversation with Galt MacDermot, the composer states that this instruction came directly from Rado and/or Ragni and was not a musicological instruction; it was intended for the music to be 'weird and still be fun'. (MacDermot 2017, personal communication, 6 February)

this music, a stage ritual is performed which evolves directly into the opening number' (MacDermot, 1967: 3). Furthermore, the band played a key role in the rehearsal period. Unlike previous Broadway models of working, the band joined the cast in rehearsals thus forming a bond between actors and musicians which encouraged a collaborative process to both the composition and performance of the score.

It could be argued that *Hair* was not the first musical to include popular or rock music in its score and that *Bye Bye Birdie* (1960) was instead the first Broadway show to feature this genre of music. With music by Charles Strouse and lyrics by Lee Adams, the songs can be defined as pastiche numbers, utilised to represent an earlier time (1958) and suggest that the lead character, Conrad Birdie, is loosely based on Elvis Presley. However, it is only Conrad's songs that are written in the style of rock and roll, with the intention of replicating the sound and style of the music of Elvis, whilst other songs in the narrative generally conform to the standard 'Broadway style' genre. This is further supported by the orchestration which again, utilises the standard Broadway pit line-up of six strings, four reeds and six brass alongside piano, percussion and guitar/banjo. *Hair's* score features a wide range of musical styles, the heterogeneous nature of the score replicating the diversity of those whose stories they tell. Nonetheless, amalgamating the songs of *Hair* into one category – rock – is somewhat problematic; MacDermot's score features an array of genres including, as previously discussed, doo-wop and funk, soul and Motown. To reconcile these into an over-arching classification ignores the influence of musics that can be considered to be the language of those on the margins.

Nevertheless, Elizabeth Wollman, in her discussion of rock musicals, places *Hair* as the forerunner, which is largely prompted by the use of such a term in the title, but recognises that the term 'rock' is, like rock n' roll and pop, hard to define. Furthermore, any attempt to reconcile rock music with musical theatre has been equally difficult, largely because their 'sociological, ideological, and aesthetic divergences have made such [a] union[s] especially tricky'. Interestingly, she notes

that rock musicals remain 'somewhat marginal' (2006: 1). Wollman's definition here perhaps lies at the heart of the score of *Hair*; the musical itself seeks to communicate micro-narratives of those in society who are considered to reside at the margins and therefore, choosing this musicological language – thereby classifying the genre itself as 'marginal' – seems highly appropriate. For the purposes of this discussion, it is worth investigating Wollman's definition further. In her chapter on *Hair,* she pauses to qualify the relationship between rock and rock n' roll; rock was linked to the political and social turmoil of the sixties, with lyrics that reflect these issues, is more dependent on amplification and electronic sound generation, borrows from a wide variety of forms and structures, and is more likely to widen its use of instrumentation beyond the standard line up of rock n' roll (50-51). However, Wollman recognises that several of the songs in the score still utilise the standard thirty-two bar chorus common to Tin Pan Alley and favoured by Broadway composers.

In terms of narrative structure, I have proposed that *Hair*'s libretto can best be described as liminal; not quite ready to fully dispense with the earlier form of the book musical but certainly ambiguous in its approach to that linear structure. Similarly, its score can also be classified thus; it is unwilling to fully separate from the Tin Pan Alley forms and structures of earlier musical scores, but is experimenting with new forms and structures of music. Furthermore, the lyrics resonated with the youth of America, in the same way as perhaps the lyrics of folk singers Bob Dylan and Joan Baez did with audiences of that time. Musicals have been frequently considered to be mere entertainment, but this similarity to the political rock and folk rock music of these popular artists perhaps lends a legitimacy to the music of *Hair.* Rock's difference from other forms of entertainment was highlighted in its claims to excess and Grossberg asserts that this excess is apparent in the relationship of rock performers to their audiences – 'based on their common experiences defined in terms of youth and a postmodern sensibility rather than class [or] race' - and to their music, 'which must somehow "express" and transcend that experience' (1992: 207). Musical theatre appeared

to be capturing the political and social concerns of Americans both in its sound and through the sung word. This is proven by the popularity of songs and their success in the Billboard charts, around the world and in subsequent re-releases, testament to both MacDermot's score and to the enduring appeal of 'rock'. The rock score allowed *Hair* to have a life beyond its stage incarnation and reach wider audiences than those who purchased a ticket for the Off-Broadway or Broadway productions. As songs from the score were re-released and covered by popular artists they became 'texts that gain layers of authorship as they are worked and re-worked over time' and subsequently, those cover versions 'come to have currency in other musical genres' (Solis, 2010: 297). Moreover, the political afterlife of these songs speak to their utopian resonance in wider popular culture; this will be discussed in the following chapter, but first I wish to explore the ways in which these re-releases illustrate acts of resistance and rebellion.

In musical theatre, the accepted practice pre-1943 was for a song to be written as a stand-alone release which was then frequently adopted and inserted into a stage revue or musical. Tin Pan Alley songs of the early twentieth century often had a life (and an audience) of their own prior to reaching the stage and their insertion in stage formats was often to secure financial success and additional exposure for the production. In the years following the advent of the book musical, this practice became less popular and, with the introduction of the rock musical, the practice switched to one more commonly associated with the release of popular music genres. As Solis attests, 'covering's connection to a particular time and musical culture is what makes it a worthwhile concept and practice to investigate and interrogate' (299). However, unlike Solis, I am less concerned with debates which focus on authenticity here and instead, will analyse how the rock status of the score of *Hair* allowed its songs to enter into the mainstream popular music culture, the means through which they achieve this and the cultural significance they attain in doing so. In finding new meanings and re-imaginings, *Hair*'s songs in themselves, were able to be used as sites of performative rebellion in popular culture.

Nina Simone's 'Ain't Got No, I Got Life'

In her comprehensive article on Nina Simone and political activism, Ruth Feldstein recognises 'the political work a song could do and the multiple ways in which cultural production mattered to black activism' (2005: 1350). She argues that by the late sixties, Simone's biographical narrative had 'departed from then-dominant depictions of African American entertainers', women entertainers in particular, and that Simone's perceived crossover from classical music (high culture) into jazz (which often stands at the crossroads in the debate between what constitutes high/low culture) had already 'inserted African American women [into] venues that had historically excluded them and had favored a certain model of masculinity' (1355).

Simone had received classical training on the piano; this factor alone challenged the dominant myth that African Americans only entertained, they did not work hard to study a craft or achieve virtuosity on an instrument. Furthermore, where virtuosity did exist in African American performers, it was gendered male; 'gendered meanings of jazz infused the music with an avant-garde radicalism *and* with associations to a modernist universal high culture in ways that seemed to preclude women' (Feldstein, 2005: 1356). Tammy Kernodle expands on this argument to assert that by 1963, Simone's recorded material had already 'crossed several genre distinctions', from spirituals ('Wade in the Water') and opera ('I Loves You Porgy'), to folk ('Black is the Color of My True Love's Hair') and argues that this established Simone as 'one of pop music's influential voices' (2008: 299). It is interesting to note that by 1963, Simone made regular appearances at two nightclubs in New York's Greenwich Village, the birthplace of the East Coast counter-cultural movement. Both nightclubs – the Village Gate and the Bitter End – featured regular appearances from writers such as Langston Hughes and the activist LeRoi Jones. Kernodle argues that moving in this cultural sphere influenced Simone's 'political consciousness' (300) but both this, and Feldstein's article cite the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama as being the catalyst which prompted Simone to perform black activism, typified

in her first protest song 'Mississippi Goddamn', which was later released on her 1964 album, *In Concert.* The track listing for this album shows the diversity of Simone's musical heritage; she juxtaposes folk songs with Broadway tunes and protest songs.[72] Feldstein argues that this album, more than any of her other recordings, 'offers a framework for understanding the intersections of gender and music, art and activism in Simone's career' (2005: 1362).

What is perhaps most interesting to note is Simone's treatment of the Kurt Weill song 'Pirate Jenny'. In introducing this song, Simone states that Jenny has been transported from a flophouse in Germany to one in South Carolina. Simone's mention of Germany, as opposed to the original setting of *The Threepenny Opera* (Victorian London), allows for association with 'her own antiracism [and] Brecht's antifascism', evoking 'a historical alliance between African American musicians and an interwar political Left' (Feldstein, 2005: 1363). In the treatment of this song, Simone has transformed a popular show tune into protest music, through which she exposes the 'socioeconomic and gendered dimensions of racism' (ibid.). Furthermore, Simone's rendition of this song does not just embody black activism, but black *female* activism. As Feldstein points out, Simone uses the lyrics of the song as a threat, a warning of black women exacting their revenge; 'African American women and their labor were Simone's point of entry' (ibid.) This treatment is replicated in her later concert performance and subsequent recording of two songs from *Hair;* 'Ain't Got No' and 'I Got Life'.

Nuff Said, the album which features these songs from *Hair* was recorded at Westbury Music Fair in 1968, three days after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr, although 'Ain't Got No' was one of three tracks on the album recorded a month later in the studio. The eleven track album typifies the same diet of songs as *In Concert;* show tunes, spirituals, folk songs and protest songs, but like 'Pirate

[72] Of the seven tracks which feature on this album, two are drawn from theatrical productions ('I Loves You Porgy' and 'Pirate Jenny'), two are jazz folk songs ('Plain Gold Ring' and 'Don't Smoke in Bed') and the remaining three are self-penned protest songs ('Old Jim Crow', 'Go Limp' and 'Mississippi Goddamn').

Jenny', 'Ain't Got No' is performed as a crossover. No longer a show tune, Simone amplifies the meaning of the lyrics to convey both pride in being a black woman and the inequality experienced by African Americans. For the purposes of this analysis, I will compare the album version, her 1968 live London performance and her 1969 Harlem Festival performance to the original incarnation of the songs in the stage production of *Hair.*

In his liner notes to the album *Nuff Said,* Nat Shapiro opens by attempting to define Simone and her style, he begins; 'First, take one painfully acquired knowledge and sensitized awareness of cruelty, injustice and frustration' (1968). Whilst trying to capture the essence of Simone and her music, he notes that her audiences are made up of mainly young people with whom she has an affinity, an understanding:

> A fierce integrity is reflected in the material that Nina Simone chooses to sing and play, and hers is the constant search for songs that can express her deeply felt ideas and emotions as a woman, as an artist, as a black American. A minutely perceptible change in the mood of her listeners, the slightest shift in attention, and Nina responds. She meets each subtle challenge sometimes with defiance, sometimes with rage, more often with a complete giving of herself.
>
> (Shapiro, 1968)

Shapiro's words echo how Simone attempted to capture the concerns of the age, responding to cultural shifts and attempting to express these concerns through song and performance. On the album, Simone largely achieves this through subtle changes in the lyrics. Whilst both the initial segments of the first and second verses remain the same, Simone feminises certain lyrics as follows:

> Ain't got no **skirts** [scarf]/ Ain't got no **sweater** [gloves]
>
> Ain't got no **perfume** [bed]/ Ain't got no **bed** [pot]
>
> Ain't got no **love** [shine][73]

[73] Simone's alterations are presented in bold, with the original lyric in parentheses.

At this point, Simone switches immediately to the third verse which allows a segue from the word 'love' to the following:

> Ain't got no man/ Ain't got no ticket
> Ain't got no token/ Ain't got no God

This feminisation – or rather, expression of the black female experience – in the lyrics, is further cemented by the alterations in the second song in the medley 'I Got Life'. She adds:

> And what have I got? Why am I alive anyway?
> Yeah what have I got? Nobody can take away?
>
> Got my eyes, got my nose, got my mouth, got my **smile** [teeth]
> I got my tongue, got my chin, got my neck, got my **boobies** [tits]
> Got my heart, got my soul, got my back, I got my **sex** [self]

In this final section, Simone's vocals are doubled, suggesting that this is not just her song, a solo rallying cry, but a shared, communal experience; one that all black women can relate to and subsequently use as life-affirming. The drums are over-dubbed and are also mixed quite high in the final rendering. This emphasises the rhythmic nature of the song, particularly when compared to live versions, and calls to mind the heterogeneous sound ideal explored in previous chapters. Simone's recording of these songs became her most popular releases in Europe, reaching number one in the Dutch chart and number two in the UK singles chart. However, the exuberant nature of this recording with its prominent rhythmic section and doubled vocals is not replicated in a live performance, filmed in London in 1968 in front of a sombre, well-behaved (and predominantly white) audience.

The introduction of the song is less animated, featuring ascending and descending thirds in the bassline, covering the span of an interval of a fifth. The bass line then

introduces a staid, uniform melodic accompaniment consisting of repetitive chords added in the treble clef. Accompanied by a drum kit, bass guitar, rhythm guitar and male vocals with tambourine, Simone is centre stage, surrounded by a decidedly Caucasian audience. Here, the lyrics to 'Ain't Got No' drastically change. Bearing little resemblance to the original, beyond section A of the first verse, Simone provides a litany of 'items' which are lacking. The feminised lyrics of the first verse remain but amendments in the proceeding verses indicate a much broader experience; a comprehensive list is provided in appendix D. Whilst it is difficult to determine how much of this litany was consciously altered in order to communicate a wider message, it is clear that the lyrics portray a much wider experience than the original lyrics, which appear to be restricted by a more local, geographical and ultimately, limited experience – note the particular references to the 'A' train.

Perhaps more arresting is Simone's delivery. She does not smile throughout the entirety of 'Ain't Got No'. Her stillness is, in many ways more powerful and she remains focused and sombre throughout the delivery of the song, only becoming marginally more animated when she turns to 'I Got Life'. However, even this song ends as the performance began; still, unsmiling and focused. She features the majority of 'I Got Life', perhaps to satisfy the British audience who helped this song reach number two in the charts, but her animated delivery featuring flourishes at the top end of the piano, eventually gives way to a more static, measured and thoughtful rendition as the song closes. When contrasted against her performance of the same songs at the Harlem Festival in 1969, stark differences can be seen. Performed in the original key of E minor, the introduction features a repeated drone on the interval of a fifth in the bass clef, with ascending intervals of a fifth replicated in the treble clef, reminiscent of a typical native American tribal chant (perhaps a direct acknowledgment of *Hair's* subtitle). The line-up consists of the same standard jazz quartet featured in the London performance, with the addition of a Hammond organ and congas. The vast audience is mainly black and the musicians wear what appears to be West-African

traditional dress, echoed in the colours of Simone's outfit. Again, the lyrics are changed but in this performance, Simone dispenses with the feminised lyrics immediately, choosing to highlight instead that she has no 'friends, schoolin', work, job, money' or 'place to stay' in verse one. In fact, there are no feminised lyrics at all; the entire song becomes a comment on a more universal experience but with a focus on many of the economic factors affecting the lives of African Americans. She ends this song with the assertion 'and I ain't got long to live', before her segue into 'I Got Life'. The latter performance is virtuosic in nature, her vocals are agile and she explores the full range of her tessitura. This is a much more exuberant performance, amply supported by a vibrant rhythmic section, but her demeanour remains the same throughout; unsmiling, focused and intent.

As both Feldstein and Kernodle remark, Simone is a crossover artist, one that straddles a number of genres, indicating a refusal to belong to any singular category. This is exemplified in her performances. As Coyle asserts, 'numerous performers [. . .] have nevertheless made their reputations by reinventing familiar songs: they project their identity precisely *by* singing songs associated with another voice or style' (in Beebe et al, 2002: 134). Moreover, Simone's delivery and lyrical and musical adjustments all seem to recognise her audience. By 1969, black civil rights movements in America had recognised the increased need to emphasise black power and cultural nationalism and Simone's associations with this racial militancy in the late sixties 'heightened her notoriety in those years' but equally, organisations remained male-dominated; 'assertions of black *male* pride remained at the center of calls for black power that were implicitly and explicitly gendered male' (Feldstein, 2005: 1366-1367). This perhaps accounts for the eradication of the feminised lyrics in the Harlem Festival performance, instead, Simone 'embraced physical markers of black cultural nationalism in ways that joined the struggle of African Americans to a more transnational vision of African freedom, making both visible through her female body' (1371). The debate here is not whether music is essentially white or black but merely to assert that the enduring popularity of 'popular' music 'derives precisely from its hybridity' (Coyle

in Beebe et al, 2002: 145), its production and re-production as it is consumed and received by different cultures; this is clearly seen in the 1969 Harlem performance, which seems to reinforce the need to 'perform' blackness in the USA more than for any other worldwide audience. Indeed, Simone and other artists of the time 'were engaged by and lent their great gifts to the outpouring of protest, hope, and rage that marked [the] struggle for democracy' (Harding, 2009: 115). Simone spoke of celebrating life through her music and in interviews, stated that the civil rights movement made her feel 'more alive';[74] these sentiments seem to account for Simone choosing to perform 'I Got Life' alongside 'Ain't Got No', the negativity of the repeated phrase 'Ain't got no' is clearly cancelled out by the affirmations of the second song.

As documented elsewhere in this thesis, the power of song became an instrument and tool for reinforcing community and articulating the concerns of the civil rights movement; its use in promoting concepts of utopia will be explored in the following chapter. The emphasis of these protest songs was on culture as community, not entertainment. Simone recognised her unique position to use her music as a tool by which she could promote the interests of the civil rights movement to a much wider audience in the States, Europe and beyond. Recognising the way in which music is consumed and experienced, Simone capitalises on this knowledge to use the songs from *Hair* as unique protest songs, a form of rebellion and an act of resistance, thus disseminating the message of both the musical and the African American (female) experience to a global audience.

Public Enemy and the Artifacts: '3-5-0-0/Ripped Open by Metal Explosions'

In his book, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*, Marvin Carlson proposes that the 'relationships between theatre and cultural memory are deep and complex' (2003: 2) before exploring ways in which theatrical performances

[74] Simone's interviews can be found in *Black Interviewer,* 1968 and also appear in Phyl Garland's *The Sound of Soul* (1969).

retell, re-enact and reproduce stories and events. He examines the text, the body, the production and the theatrical space itself and draws an intriguing conclusion that suggests one of the reasons for such forms of recycling arises from a necessity for art to survive. Although he argues that this is primarily to attract audiences – therefore, prompted largely by a financial, rather than artistic necessity – Carlson also recognises that 'unexpected and innovative juxtapositions of material [create] new relationships, effects, and tensions' (168). His detailed analysis tends to consider music as one of the elements required for the realisation of the dramatic text in theatre. However, drawing on his framework, it could be argued that cover versions or samples of music used in different contexts function in much the same way and therefore it is useful to consider which original material is recycled, fashioned for different purposes and how this can subsequently provide alternative receptions in completely new contexts. These contexts in themselves are similarly layered with meaning, thus conjuring additional 'ghosts' and evoking new sets of cultural memories for audiences.

MacDermot's music from *Hair* (and his wider catalogue) has been sampled numerous times and by a wide variety of performers. Perhaps the most fascinating of all these examples, in terms of its postmodern treatment, is the song '3-5-0-0'.

The text of the song is taken from Allen Ginsberg's poem, 'Wichita Vortex Sutra II':

> Napalm and black clouds emerging in newsprint
> Flesh soft as a Kansas girl's
> ripped open by metal explosion-
> three five zero zero on the other side of the planet
> caught in barbed wire, fire ball
> bullet shock, bayonet electricity
> bomb blast terrific in skull and belly, shrapneled throbbing meat
> Whilst this American nation argues war;
>
> (Ginsberg, 1966)

This section of the poem ends with the line 'prisoner[s] in Niggertown' which is also used in the song. This final line references a ghettoised area of Wichita which Ginsberg drove through at the time of writing. His further references to Kansas are inserted with the intention of highlighting violence through humanity, 'the warmth and sensuality of the human body [makes] the distant violence urgent and real' (Potts, 2006) and the geographical references locate the poem in a very specific time and place. Doing so counteracts how, elsewhere in the poem, Ginsberg is highlighting the futility of language in an age where words are hijacked and rendered meaningless by the mass media; 'he is ironically underscoring the ambiguity and powerlessness of poetry as a political gesture' (ibid.). However, it is worth noting that the Beat movement (of which, Ginsberg was a founding member) grew from a new vision, which, like any spiritual innovation 'included a rejection of dominant spiritual norms and established religious institutions'; their work developed from a rejection of, and rebellion against, 'American materialism and mechanization' (Prothero[75], 1991: 209).

The first layering to consider is how these words may have resonated with audiences in the 1967 to 68 productions of *Hair.* The statistics featured in the song ('256 Viet Cong captured' and '3-5-0-0') are largely attributed to news reports and/or the words of Pentagon chief and Secretary of Defence, Robert McNamara, cited here by Ginsberg as 'front page testimony '66'. These kinds of statistics were commonplace in news reports throughout the Vietnam war and by including them here, Ginsberg, and subsequently, Rado and Ragni, place this anti-war poem firmly in its context; the lyrics to '3-5-0-0' must have undoubtedly jarred with audiences hearing them in sung-form, it is clear that these words, both in their original context and here, in *Hair,* function as protest.

[75] Interestingly, Prothero also describes Beat poets as 'liminal figures who expressed their cultural marginality by living spontaneously [. . .] and perhaps above all stressing the chaotic sacrality of human inter-relatedness or *communitas* over the pragmatic functionality of social structure' (1991: 210-211). Johnston's work (2005) also explores Utopian visions in the work of the Beat poets.

The song was then re-released in instrumental form in 1970 on MacDermot's album *First Natural Hair Band* under the title 'Ripped Open by Metal Explosions'. It is the song, in this instrumental form, that is frequently sampled by other artists. The earliest sampled version was released in 1994 and the song continues to be sampled in 2016. Of the twenty-seven songs listed on both MacDermot's website and a database of sampled songs, all twenty-seven fall into the category of rap/hip-hop; some of the most popular rap artists listed include LL Cool J, Public Enemy and Mos Def. All of the songs listed were released from 1994 onwards; this is of particular interest when examining the resonance of MacDermot's work, largely because Krims notes that from 1994 onwards, the genre has shown a 'reasonable degree of stability' largely due to the decline in popularity of gangsta rap (2000: 47).

In his discussion of the politics of rap, Lipsitz states that 'as a cultural discourse and political activity, it thus speaks to both residual and emergent realities' and argues that digital sampling in rap has a very specific function: that of 'tapping consumer memories of parts of old songs and redeploying them in the present' (1994: 37). Indeed, rap is fundamentally concerned with temporality, and this is evident in the extent to which these songs employ bricolage. Samples, and the extent to which they are used, allow the listener 'to recognize the original artist, song, and even the lyric of a particular sample' and in doing so, 'rap artists build an interpretative link between themselves and the sample, the sample's artist (including their political and social contribution), and the sample's sub-genre' (Lena, 2004: 299). However, Lena develops her argument further to assert that meaning and identity through sampling was produced by using the music of African American artists and in doing so, 'the coded familiarity of the rhythms and "hooks" that rap samples from other black music (especially funk and soul music) carries with it the power of black collective memory' (Rose in Lena, 2004: 305), thus solidifying a connection to black cultural roots. The sampling of music paid tribute to the musical (and social) accomplishments of these earlier artists, therefore 'rappers signified their own location in black musical history and their

desire to preserve and reinvigorate this music that was important to the African American historical experience in general' (ibid. 306). I quote at length here from Lena's article because the emphasis on sampling and the symbolism of this process in terms of the African American experience is explicated in great depth. This suggests that rap itself is not a static text but rather should be read as a site of negotiation that bears multiple social inscriptions. For African Americans who found themselves isolated and excluded from inherently unfair systems, rap represented freedom. For Afrika Bambaataa, founder of The Zulu Nation, rap allowed him to 'go from the past to the future to what's happening now' (Lipsitz, 1994: 26). Through sampling, rap is a palimpsest of African American cultural history; it bears visible traces of an earlier form. Sampling could be considered as a 'new bonding'; 'the receiver's memory of the previous bonding remains, contaminating or "ghosting" the new sign' (Carlson, 1994: 12).

What is intriguing here is that the original source material has not been produced by an African American artist. In his aptly titled publication, *Rhymin' and Stealin',* Justin Williams considers hip-hop culture as an 'imagined community'. Referencing the work of Anderson, Williams argues that such a community is 'maintained through print and electronic media, solidifying traditions, histories identities, and cultural objects that contribute to its continuity' (2013: 11). In asserting that the community is also interpretative, Williams recognises that 'listeners do not have to have knowledge of the *exact* song being borrowed for it to communicate meaning' (15, emphasis in original). Tracing the lineage of a sample from 'My Favourite Things' from *The Sound of Music*, to John Coltrane's jazz cover, to OutKast's 'Speakerboxxx/The Love Below', Williams notes that such a 'lineage [. . .] complicates any sort of dialectical reading between "old" and "new" texts' (ibid.). Indeed, in the example provided in this chapter, a similar lineage can be traced between MacDermot's work in both musical theatre and jazz, and the work of Public Enemy. Here, the discourse may indeed reference a black collective memory; the involvement of African American troops in the Vietnam war, coupled with the reference to jazz as an African American art form.

A further intertextual interpretation might refer to back to the brutality of the Vietnam War which is used to resonate with black audiences who were, even in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, experiencing brutality and inequality at the hands of law makers and authorities. This is perhaps a signifier of how the score of *Hair* initially captured similar concerns in the late sixties.

As both Rose and Krims assert, rap music was not always political and began as 'party music with limited social relevance' (Rose, 1991: 276). From the mid-90s onwards, rap music became more concerned with 'the contestation over public space, expressive meaning, interpretation, and cultural capital' (ibid.). With this in mind, it is interesting to note the meanings and interpretations expressed in one of the songs that sample 'Ripped Open by Metal Explosions': Public Enemy's *I.* The song begins with MacDermot's hook and then segues into the lyrics 'I came from a place I forgot' which does not locate the voice of the rapper/narrator in any given time or place and perhaps hints at an African history long forgotten. The lyrics which follow place the voice of the narrator as the outsider, the Other, solidified in a reference to the pilgrims and their refusal to accept immigrants. Furthermore, his status as an outsider is reinforced in terms of the generation gap, whereby he states that the older generation fail to offer any respect to the young.

The hook is illuminating:

> An eye for an eye, I can't recognize the man in the mirror
> Is it I? It is I
> Now who this cat I'm lookin' at?
> Cause I've been waiting so long to get where I'm goin'
> An eye for an eye in this country tis of thee
> Now how the hell can I be free?
>
> (Ridenhour et al, 1999)

Whilst the hook makes overt biblical references, the most interesting phrase is 'this country tis of thee'. The etymology of this phrase has been explored in the

previous chapter, along with its placement in the score of *Hair*; here, Public Enemy erase the use of the possessive pronoun 'my'. This, proceeded by the reference to freedom, further indicates that the narrator is an outsider, that there is no freedom to be enjoyed in a country where liberty and equality are not afforded to all citizens, regardless of race. The sample is looped throughout, but only the first part of the phrase 'ripped open by metal explosions' is heard; the musical motif for 'ripped' forms the loop and is often doubled by a female voice. This eradicates the perfect cadence which occurs at the end of the full phrase, which not only facilitates the loop but also offers no musical closure throughout the whole track.

This analysis indicates how the source material has been used in a different context, which has produced a new meaning. Similarly, the samples themselves can then also take on another life whereby the sample is used in a rap context and then this version is reproduced in other rap songs. This is the case with another of the 'Ripped Open by Metal Explosions' sample; the Artifacts 1994 release entitled 'C'Mon Wit Da Git Down'. This song was then sampled by nine other artists in the years following its original 94 release. A similar treatment is also exemplified in the sampling of 'Where Do I Go?', also from *Hair.* Initially sampled in Run DMC's 'Down With the King', it was then redeployed in a further five rap tracks.

In previous chapters, I have argued that the music and subsequent performance of certain songs in the score of *Hair* can be considered as acts of resistance. Similarly, rap itself can be considered an act of resistance, this 'present-day African American popular cultural expression is yet another form of oppositional culture [. . .] an ardent form of resistance' (Martinez, 1997: 268). Drawing on Hechter (1975), Mitchell and Fagin's theory of oppositional culture stresses that for African Americans, this often involves utilisation of 'their own art and music [and] a critical assessment of the dominant culture' (1995: 73). The notion of song as protest has a long history in the African American culture, which can be traced back to slave spirituals and work songs, as discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

As argued in this chapter, *Hair* can be considered rebellious in its approach to form and structure, orchestration, creative processes, and re-imaginings and, as a result, statistics indicate that the musical appealed to some demographics that were in a marginal position. Furthermore, in broadening the discussion to include *Hair's* resonances in popular culture, it is clear that rap, and its established practice of sampling, remains central to a discussion of oppositional culture; 'popular culture may be embedded within and even contribute to a dominant hegemonic framework, but it is still capable of resisting that framework' (Martinez, 1997: 268). Rap music could be considered a 'transgressive practice' which can be associated with 'the creation of new consumer-led identifications or lifestyles' (Hetherington, 1997: 24). The use of music from *Hair* in both this instance, and that of Simone's performance of songs from the score as protest music, further solidifies its rebellious, transgressive quality. Throughout this chapter, I have been interested in the ways in which *Hair* has popular cultural resonances beyond the limits of its initial performance; the ways in which the text can be considered as a productive site, gaining 'meaning in some other place, as some other licensed version of itself, and as a part of someone else's narrative' (Allen in Stokes and Maltby, 1999: 127). As illustrated in the examples given, this narrative is still one of resistance and rebellion. This has allowed for *Hair*, in its various forms, to be considered as an act of resistance; even in cross-temporal spaces and recycled intertextual formats, the messages of this musical can still resonate.

Chapter 5: *Hair* and Utopia

> Utopian movements succeed because they tell people something they desperately wish to hear. Whether or not the message is true is beside the point. It speaks to a deeply felt need, and that is enough. As we all know, "utopia" literally means "nowhere". This fact seldom depresses the price of its real estate because, although the down-payment for belief is steep, there are no monthly payments. The housing tracts in utopia remain glitteringly inviolable – that they are also uninhabitable is cheerfully overlooked [. . .] For the cultural revolutionaries of the Sixties, the domiciles of utopia always have numerous vacancies.
>
> (Kimball, 2001: 249-250)

In his discussion of utopian movements of the sixties, Kimball recognises the 'deeply felt need' of Americans to imagine a better future but also hints at the naivety which frequently accompanies notions of utopia. Here, he suggests that revolutionaries of the sixties – 'agents of utopia' – were more concerned with the emotional aspects of utopian thought than with actual practices. The practices themselves appear unattainable and he labels the political and social developments of the era as 'sad and comic [. . .], destructive if sometimes risible' (251). Whilst it is true that many of the utopian communes that arose from the sixties were somewhat fragile and in many cases, transient, the emotional experience connected to utopia should not be overlooked; the desire to live and feel more intensely.

The previous chapters have outlined the ways in which *Hair* is unique in that, the musical highlights the fissures in 1960s society and focuses on the most urgent political and social concerns of a specific era, while it also offers glimpses of how both society and the genre of musical theatre itself, can be better. Building on the previous chapter, which explores the ways in which *Hair* can be considered as an act of resistance, this chapter seeks to examine the ways in which *Hair* can be considered utopian, employing what Dolan labels 'utopian performatives' to lift the audience 'above the present, into a hopeful feeling of what the world might be like if every moment of our lives were as emotionally voluminous' (2005: 5). It is important to consider *Hair* as utopian because acts of disruption, of revolution,

are necessary to allow for evolution. The ways in which we imagine that society can be better is often represented in works of art and *Hair* embodies this, not only in its message but in its structure and the manner in which the message is communicated. As Bloch proposes, progress, in terms of both society and art, cannot be achieved through 'merely mediating, reinforcing, technical formulae' (2000: 38); it can only be achieved through disrupting and revising. Furthermore, considering the ways in which *Hair* performs utopia and evokes utopian feelings can also uncover its resonance some fifty years after it was first staged. This chapter seeks to identify the ways in which *Hair* is reflective of the utopian nature of the sixties and how it can be considered to continue to resonate in a contemporary age. It will do so initially by applying Sargent's suggested categorisation of utopianism; literary utopia, utopian practice, and utopian social theory (2010: 5). His book on the subject is particularly useful because it surveys utopia in its various forms and in several traditions. Perhaps most usefully, he pays particular attention to utopian ideas that emerged in the sixties, whilst also considering indigenous, colonial and postcolonial utopianism. This broad approach to what utopia might mean in different contexts is helpful in contemplating the ways in which we think about good/other places. The chapter will then focus on Dolan's proposition of utopian performatives, 'small but profound moments in which performance calls the attention of the audience in a way that lifts everyone slightly above the present' (2005: 5). Dolan does not seek to fix the term 'utopia' in her work, nor does she propose that theatre functions in the same way as utopian literature by describing exactly what an alternative world might look like. Instead, she places the 'alternative experience' at the heart of her interrogation, which allows her to consider the way in which the utopian performative can 'exceed the content of a play or performance' in the feelings generated both during and after the performance moment itself (7-8). As this thesis has examined similar moments in *Hair,* and their resonances beyond the performance event, Dolan's framework seems eminently suitable to apply to my discussion of utopia and the musical.

The rebellious nature of *Hair* lies not only in the acts of resistance previously outlined, but also in its response to the inadequacies of American society. These responses are, in nature, utopian. The word 'utopia' was first used by Thomas More in 1516 in a book now bearing the same name. Deriving from the Greek ou-topos, meaning no-place, More also uses the term 'eu-topia' later in the book, which literally translates as 'good-place', hence its positive connotations. Such connotations also grew from the recognition of dissatisfaction with the conditions of everyday life; as Sargent asserts:

> All utopias ask questions. They ask whether or not the way we live could be improved and answer that it could. Most utopias compare life in the present and life in the utopia and point out what is wrong with the way we now live, thus suggesting what needs to be done to improve things.
>
> (2010: 5)

Whilst postmodernist thought tends to refute the notion of utopia because offering a vision for the future would 'assume a position of political authority' and limit possibilities (Fendler, 1999: 185), there are numerous ways in which the term 'utopia' can be defined and understood. Carey argues that 'strictly speaking, imaginary good places and imaginary bad places are all utopias, or nowheres' (1999: xi) and this plurality is echoed in the postmodernist notion of heterotopias, places of otherness discussed later in this chapter.

Literary Utopia

In the opening chapter of this thesis, I discussed the central role that nostalgia plays in the traditional musical. Although Sargent notes that utopias are reflective of the issues that were of concern in the period that literary works were produced, he also remarks that 'many utopias are nostalgic in that they look back to an idealized past which is then moved into the future' (2010: 21). I am primarily concerned with how the musical as an art form can be considered utopian; not only through its employment of nostalgic themes but how the feelings that musicals often generate amongst its audiences - particularly through song - can prompt us to imagine how life might be (and feel) better. Secondly, how *Hair*

specifically modifies the genre to reflect the era from which it came, not only to represent the fragmentation in society but also to suggest how society may *be* better through emphasising community. Finally, I am interested in how we might consider that *Hair* also suggests alternative pathways for the genre of musical theatre to pursue, particularly in its form and structure (discussed in greater detail in the conclusion to this thesis).

In his 1992 publication, *Only Entertainment,* Richard Dyer explores how film musicals and entertainment are utopian; not by presenting models of utopian worlds (as in Thomas More's understanding of this term) but through the feelings they embody, instead offering 'the sense that things could be better, that something other than what is can be imagined and maybe realized' (20). He proposes that entertainment, and more specifically musicals, can offer escape and 'temporary answers to the inadequacies of [the] society' (25). Whilst he recognises that entertainment provides these feelings, he also urges the reader to note the role of marginalised or subordinate groups in developing and defining the genre and does so through an analysis of tap dancing in various forms of entertainment which serves to highlight the 'fluid signification' of what he terms 'non-representational elements' of entertainment (24).[76] Dyer considers narrative elements of the musical to be representational and the musical numbers to be non-representational,[77] essentially proposing that the narrative presents the world as it is and the numbers show how it could be better. Dyer's argument here could be appropriately applied to the 'non-representational' elements of *Hair;* indeed, the previous chapters have illustrated how songs from the score acquire significance from the style of music employed. However, whilst the proposed separation between musical number and narrative seems an astute observation, I believe this has been largely reached through considering how music makes us

[76] Dyer focuses on tap dancing because of the 'complex social-cultural situations' in which it is produced. He argues it has emotional signification because of its history, and the different significations produced all have connections; their 'residues' remain when tap is performed in a variety of entertainment forms. (24)

[77] Dyer draws on Susanne Langer's explanation of music as a 'tonal analogue for emotive life' (1953: 27) to reach this conclusion.

feel, which is echoed in his use of Langer's approach to music as emotive. The analysis presented in previous chapters has outlined songs which do indeed show how the world could be better (see 'Abie Baby' and 'Colored Spade' in particular), but these songs also present the world as it is. In the examples I have given, both of these songs communicate the lived experience of African Americans in the sixties; both function to communicate their history and their contemporary experiences, and it is only in the 'release' or the final choruses of these songs do we glean how the world might be better for African Americans. Indeed, these musical moments could therefore be considered as representational; they present the (inadequate) world as it is.

Dyer's analysis illuminates how entertainment responds to social inadequacies by outlining the possible social tensions that exist in society and how the musical offers a utopian solution to such tensions; one example given is that of fragmentation in society where Dyer proposes that the utopian solution is a portrayal of community; 'all together in one place, communal interests, collective activity' (26). Particular attention must be paid to this example given that community lies at the heart of the musical, *Hair.* As previously discussed, the assignation of the term 'Tribe' to the ensemble of *Hair* indicates how essential community is to its narrative. Furthermore, the creative methods employed in the development of the musical, as discussed earlier in the previous chapter, indicate that the work grew from, and was enhanced by, a community of like-minded individuals and their lived experience. Indeed, as Dyer asserts 'utopian sensibility has to take off from the real experience of the audience' (27). I will further explore this connection between society and performance later in the chapter.

Dyer's analysis of three musical films, *Golddiggers of 1933, Funny Face* and *On the Town,* illustrates how the musical manages the contradictions between the narrative, representational world and the non-representational utopian world of musical numbers and how it can 'present either complex or unpleasant feelings in a way that makes them seem uncomplicated, direct and vivid, not "qualified" or "ambiguous" as day-to-day life makes them' (25). In doing so, he proposes that

there is more commonly a clear separation between narrative and musical numbers, which presents a realist aesthetic. However, he recognises that there is another tendency, which is perhaps less frequently used in musicals, one that suggests utopia is also inherent in the world of the narrative. It is worth exploring this proposition at length as it is the framework that can most comfortably be applied to an analysis of *Hair.* Where utopian values are communicated in the world of the narrative, Dyer asserts this is most commonly achieved through the removal of the narrative storyline in time and space to places 'where it can be believed (by white urban Americans) that song and dance are "in the air", built into the peasant/black culture and blood, or part of a more free-and-easy stage in American development' (30). All three possibilities provided here certainly apply to the narrative of *Hair*; the notion that song and dance are 'in the air' is instituted in the opening number and even earlier, as the audience enter the performance space. Cast members are roaming freely in the space, establishing the world of the hippie culture and the dawning of a new age ('Aquarius') is welcomed in through song and dance only; no dialogic explanation is required and the key themes of the musical are communicated here through the body and the (singing) voice. In previous chapters, I have highlighted how the score utilises authentic African American musical styles to communicate the lived experiences of key characters such as Hud and Dionne, thus illustrating how the music of the score can be considered to be part of the 'black culture'; *Hair* is a product of its time, a time when 'specific aspects of sixties radical and countercultural movements [connected] to the rapid emergence of the postmodern from the dominant modernity of the sixties' (DeKoven, 2004: 3).

Intriguingly, Dyer proposes that this technique is also achieved by delaying the narrative concerns of the musical and when they are introduced, they function as 'a temporary threat to utopia' (1992: 30). This is most certainly the case in *Hair*; the central tenet of the narrative is Claude's indecision regarding military service. Although this is hinted at throughout act one and the early stages of act two, it is often seemingly suppressed by the Tribe's response which is, more often than

not, in the form of a sung moment. Even in act two, this narrative element of the story is delayed further by introducing the concerns of marginalised members of the tribe through song and is somewhat diluted in its centrality to the plot by presenting the possibility of Claude going to war through the depiction of the hallucination scene; diluted because by utilising this non-realistic world, the audience is still not actually sure as to whether Claude has entered the military or not. It can be argued that this scene perhaps replaces the dream ballet, used in more traditional forms of musical theatre. The ballet – a technique most prominently developed by Rodgers and Hammerstein – served to continue the narrative through the medium of dance and music. The fact it was presented as a 'dream' informs the audience that this is a possible route that the narrative can take but does not always actually exist as part of the world of the play. The dream ballet also presents an alternative world which is either better or worse (or suggests both options are possible) than the established world of the main storyline. In *Oklahoma!* for example, Laurey dreams of both a utopia and a dystopia (the former featuring a marriage to Curly, the latter, to Jud). A similar ballet is included in *West Side Story* where, interestingly, Robbins's notes to the scene indicate that for Tony and Maria, 'there must be a better world and a better place – things must go well for them somewhere!' (1957). In *Hair* there is little suggestion of the hallucination scene being a better world; instead, it presents the brutality of war, this is a bad 'trip' and one that is set in stark contrast to the 'better world' of the tribe. The hallucination scene *is* the threat to utopia; it deals directly with the central concern of the narrative and its placement, in the latter part of act two, means that the point at which utopia has been threatened has been delayed. It is fully dismantled in the penultimate number of the show, 'Flesh Failures', when the audience are presented with the reality that Claude has been killed. Although it can be argued that because of *Hair*'s unique structure the delay may not function in the same manner as it would in more traditional musicals, the micro-narratives that have been communicated throughout have, in some ways, served to add to the tension that this delaying technique would normally

generate. In each micro-narrative (particularly those relating to the lived experience of African Americans), a brief glimpse of contemporary society has been communicated but something better is also suggested, particularly towards the end of each musical number. This structure has not necessarily removed the tension, but merely acts as a device which further delays – or disrupts - the threat to utopia.

Where my analysis of *Hair* departs from Dyer's framework is at the point at which he asserts that any contradictions that arise as a result of the communication of utopian ideals are addressed through nostalgia or primitivism; 'far from pointing forwards, they point back, to a golden age – a reversal of utopianism that is only marginally offset by the narrative motive of recovery of utopia' (31). As Sargent proposes, nostalgic utopias do indeed 'look back' but also point the story towards the future. Whilst *Hair* employs earlier stories (Lincoln's address) and earlier musical styles (doo-wop and the work song), it does not look back for too long, rather these moments are often used as history lessons; this is the way the world *was* but this is how the world could be. This is explicitly stated in many of the musical moments discussed in this thesis ('Colored Spade', 'Abie Baby', 'Black Boys/White Boys', and 'My Conviction'). These songs only point forwards towards utopia; none of them suggest that adopting any form of nostalgia will provide a better world.

Hair was of course transformed into another form of literary 'text' when it was released as a film in 1979. Although still presented as a musical, with some of its key songs featuring as part of the narrative and some reimagined as underscoring, the film places greater importance on the central narrative theme of the stage production; the Vietnam War. It implicates more of the Tribe in this war, mainly because Berger's 'playfulness' means that he takes Claude's place in the armed forces, is sent off to Vietnam and is ultimately killed: it is his grave that the Tribe gather around in the final scene. I am particularly interested in the ways that the material is reimagined on-screen, largely because, it treats the Vietnam War as a nostalgic point in history; by the time of the film's release, direct US military

involvement had ceased (1973) and Saigon had been captured by the North Vietnamese Army in 1975, with reunification of the country occurring in the following year. Furthermore, the media re-examination which followed the Vietnam War served to instil a sense of duty and pride. As Hixson notes, this process served to transform the war into 'spectacle and commodity', thus creating a 'complex nostalgia industry' which aimed to rewrite the history of the war to 'fit more neatly into the master narrative of American imperialism' (2000: 80). *Hair* therefore now looks back to, rather than capturing, a time in American history. The outcome of the war is known and in some ways, this eradicates the utopian elements evident in the stage version, it renders the possibilities for 'social dreaming' futile. What is particularly interesting is how the film relies heavily on traditional Hollywood modes of representing women and African Americans on-screen, and for this reason, it is worth analysing the ways in which this is done in order to reveal how *Hair* could be considered as non-utopian text.

In making revisions, Milos Forman the director, cut key members of the tribe (Crissy), widened the geographical focus (moving from Oklahoma to New York to Nevada) and transformed the socio-economic context of a number of key characters (most notably, Sheila.) Moreover, the modes of filming employed often place the spectator in a masculine position, which not only negates the role of the female in the film but is also extremely problematic in terms of the film's treatment of African Americans on-screen. From the outset, the spectator is placed in a masculine position; the opening credits of the film show Claude saying goodbye to his father at the bus stop. A few wise words and a hug from his father indicate the patriarchal influence on Claude. The omission of the mother figure in the opening sequence is, in itself interesting. As explored in chapter three, the stage version features an extended section of dialogue which introduces the audience to Claude's mother (or rather, 'Mother', perhaps suggesting merely a maternal role), and although her portrayal cannot be considered neutral and, at times, she even appears aggressive, it is clear that she possesses a certain amount of influence in both her home and in Claude's life. This is the first indication that

in the film, the feminine has been reduced, rewritten or removed. Shot from the interior of the bus, looking through both side and front windows, the camera lens in this scene then allows us to share Claude's journey to the city. This scene functions to establish Claude as the main male protagonist, as the bearer of the look of the spectator. Mulvey argues that film functions to reproduce the natural conditions of human perception and camera movements are determined by the action of the protagonist, thus Claude is articulating the look and creating the action. (Mulvey in Thornham, 1999:64). By the time Claude enters the park and the opening number, 'Aquarius' begins, the spectator has projected his look onto that of his like, his screen surrogate. Performed as a solo by a black female member of the tribe, the song functions to establish woman as the object of the gaze of the protagonist and the spectator; the camera circles a full 360 degrees around her in close up, forensically examining her from every angle. The 'active power of the erotic look' (ibid.) is at play. As Claude appears briefly in the scene, the narrative and the relationship between male protagonist and spectator are broken, thus rendering the female as an erotic object and the beneficiary of the spectator's look. She does not look back. Mulvey labels this as 'fetishistic scopophilia', where the focus lies firmly on the physical beauty of the object and the subsequent pleasure in merely, looking.

The spectator being placed in the masculine position (through identification with Claude) is further reinforced with Sheila's entrance later in the song. In the stage version, Sheila is clearly involved with political activism, she is the character who leads the Tribe in their protest call. In the film version, the character is completely transformed into a society debutante from the suburbs of Long Island. Her entrance reinforces this; presented in slow motion, Sheila rides through the park on a horse, accompanied by two female riders and her erotic beauty is emphasised as her curls bounce gracefully around her face, matching the graceful canter of the horse. As Claude looks at her, so she looks back. While her gaze remains sure, Claude's is one of distinct unease. Mulvey suggests that the woman, although the object of pleasure in looking for men, also threatens to

evoke anxiety in the male, signified by her sexual difference. She proposes that the male unconscious can avoid such anxiety through fetishistic scopophila, or through voyeurism; in summary, investigating the woman and subsequently saving the woman. As Sheila rides away, Claude's gaze remains fixed in position, continuing to investigate. She no longer returns his gaze and has instead been subjected to the gaze of both the male protagonist and the male spectator. Her subsequent emotional romantic attachment to Claude indicates that she has possibly been controlled; 'her eroticism is subjected to the male star alone. By means of identification with him, the spectator can indirectly possess her too' (Mulvey in Thornham,1999:65).

In the screen version, Sheila also 'loses' one of her solo numbers, thus further eradicating her voice. Instead, this song is performed by a character referred to only as 'Hud's fiancée': this choice of character name indicated in both the script and cast credits of the film, is problematic, suggesting that the identity of such a character is defined only in terms of her relationship to the male. Perhaps more problematic is the way in which the African American characters in this scene are portrayed.

When the song and scene are read in the context of the preceding dialogue and the shots of the child at Cheryl Barnes' (the actress playing this role) side are considered, a symbolic order is suggested in which woman functions to reinforce the patriarchal unconscious. There are issues of both race and gender to consider at this point. bell hooks argues that representations of black women in film are there to serve; 'to enhance and maintain white womanhood as object of the phallocentric gaze' (1996:201). This is made explicit in Hud's rejection of his fiancée and the subsequent choice he makes to leave with Jeannie and members of the tribe. Barnes's character is rendered as nothing more than a backdrop and hooks suggests that this 'violating representation' of the black woman as victim and the subsequent affirmation of white womanhood as being the object of the male gaze, led to black female spectators constructing an oppositional gaze. Arguing that mainstream feminist film criticism does not acknowledge black

female spectatorship, hooks proposes that the theory of the male gaze is only the starting point for many black women approaching cinema and suggests that it is only through 'looking and looking back', using history as a countermemory, that the black female spectator can 'know the present and invent the future'. (1996:213). This is something that the stage version does exceptionally well. As explored in subsequent chapters, musical moments that feature micro narratives of African American characters call upon earlier moments of history to express their current lived experience and indeed, invent the future.

In chapter three of her book *Looking for the Other,* Ann Kaplan asserts that ideas of the normative gendered western body are implicit in formulations of both nation and Hollywood. She proposes that because the normative gendered body is exclusively western, further problems are caused for diasporan women in America who 'may have little sense of belonging to the actual national community and yet who may have travelled to America in pursuit of the "American Dream"' (1997:46), a dream which offers them freedom from abusively patriarchal contexts. The film version of 'Easy to be Hard' presents the spectator with dialogue which is constructed around Hud's decision. The whole scene hangs on whether he will choose to return to his fiancée and his son, or continue to live with the tribe. There is an implied racial element too and, at this point, the male and the imperial gaze become intertwined. Hollywood's obsession with 'alternate fantasies of black males' lustful desire for the white, blonde woman' (Kaplan, 1997:65) is reinforced in this scene and as a result, Hud's fiancée has not been afforded a neutral representation. Portrayed as a victim and framed in what appears to be an abusively patriarchal context, Barnes's character serves only to reinforce this traditional Hollywood code. Mary-Ann Doane describes this process as the despecularisation of women, further noting that the representation of black women on screen is rarely that of an ordinary woman, instead, they are either 'too much or too little, too visible or invisible, cut in or cut out' (Doane in Kaplan, 1997:232). As discussed in chapter three, the film version also renders

Hud as hyper-masculine, aggressive, and to be feared, thus perpetuating Donald Bogle's stereotype of the Black Buck (1973).

The inclusion of both Lafayette junior, Hud's son, and Jeannie's evident pregnancy in this scene ensure that both women are located in subordinate positions, in domestic, motherly roles. Although Jeanie is pregnant in the original stage version, the inclusion of a second mother in the scene ensures that however the camera shot is framed, the spectator is presented with a view of woman as mother. In this scene, the women inhabit what Kaplan refers to as 'a space of their family as home' (1997:45), This ideological remnant of the second world war concerning the patriarchal nuclear family bombards the spectator and defines both Jeannie and Hud's fiancée in phallocentric terms. Both women are the bearer, rather than the maker of meaning; that is, they represent 'maternal plenitude' (Mulvey in Thornham,1999:59). The only maternal connection made in the stage version is that between Claude and 'Mother' and she – as discussed in chapter three – is labelled as '1948', perhaps placing notions about the nuclear family and maternal responsibilities firmly in the post-war era.

In her 1975 essay, Mulvey proposes that there are three types of 'looking': the first is associated with the look of the camera as it records the filmic event, the second is the look of the audience member (often in a dark auditorium) as they watch the final product and finally, the look of the characters at each other in the visual images on screen. This third form of 'looking' is perhaps most clearly illustrated in the songs 'Black Boys/White Boys'. As discussed extensively in the first section of chapter three, these songs placed women (and the icons upon which the performances are based) centre stage. In contrast, the film version of *Hair* affords just over a quarter of the length of the sequence to showing the female singers on screen. Set in a military entrance processing station, individual draftees are presented to a panel of both black and white male ranking officers. Mulvey proposes two pleasures in looking; the first, scopophilia derives from 'pleasure in using another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight' and the second comes from 'identification with the image seen' (in Thornham,

1999:62). With so little exposure on the screen, it is difficult to argue in this case that the woman is the object of scopophilic desire. The naked male, standing in the army induction centre would appear to be the object of sexual desire and the female spectator could therefore, appropriate the gaze for her own pleasure. To do so however, would be to 'reinforce the dominant system of aligning sexual difference with a subject/object dichotomy' (Doane in Thornham, 1999:134). In addition, whilst the female spectator can derive pleasure from looking at the male draftee as an object of sexual stimulation, there is little on screen for her to identify with. Doane proposes two alternative possibilities for ego-identification for the female spectator: 'narcissistic identification with the female or a transvestite identification with the male' (Doane in Drukman, 1995: 85). The latter may present an opportunity for further examination of this scene, particularly as the scene opens with a draftee refusing to remove his socks to reveal his painted toenails.

To analyse the scene in greater detail, it is necessary to consider the look of the characters at each other within the visual images on screen. Whilst the individual draftees avoid the gaze of the panel of assessing officers, the panel are focused solely on each draftee presented. In his essay proposing the gay gaze in relation to MTV, Steven Drukman builds on Mulvey's theory to propose that for the gay male spectator, 'the object of scopophilic pleasure is the man and the subject of ego-identification is, in constant flux between the woman and the man' (1995:84). In the scene, shots alternate rapidly between the panel of officers and the female members of the tribe singing in the park. It is interesting to note that the song remains in the female vocal register but the majority of lines are now sung by the male officers, negating the female voice. Drukman uses the language of Mulvey to identify 'to-be-looked-at-ness' and notes that this is often reinforced by the gaze of others within the visual images on screen. In 'Black Boys/White Boys' the draftee is subjected to the gaze of the male panel whilst maintaining what could be referred to as a 'phallic hardness; clenched fists, bulging muscles, hardened jaws' (Dyer in Drukman, 1995:91). Furthermore, both of the draftees are covering

their genitals with their hands, drawing attention to their phallic symbols. These elements combined confirm that the gaze is male; once again, man is maker of meaning and man is bearer of the look. Although this scene offers potential for a reconsideration of the performance of masculinity, there are already other moments that function in this manner throughout the musical (as explored and outlined in chapter three); it is clear that what functions as an exceptionally powerful moment in the stage version has now been reduced to subscribe to the normative codes of Hollywood filmmaking; a recycling that fails to take into account the revolutionary, transgressive attitude towards gender in the sixties. As Berg notes, in discussing other films that deal with the Vietnam War (for example, *Taxi Driver, The Deer Hunter* and *Rambo: First Blood Part II*) expressing 'utopian hope [is] hardly congruent with our dedication to a "naturalistic" cinematic practice' (in Hixson, 2000: 120).

In analysing what is presented *on* screen, it is interesting to note scenes and musical moments from the stage version that Forman has chosen not to portray. Horn states that Forman attempted to remain faithful to the musical numbers of the original Broadway production but that often, these numbers were employed as source music (1991:115). Both 'Walking in Space' and '3-5-0-0' are given this treatment, accompanying portrayals of the troops in the army barracks. The hallucination scene which falls in between these numbers is removed from the film version. It can be argued that this allows for a much more coherent plot, allowing the narrative of the film to develop organically. However, the removal of such scenes, particularly the musical number 'Abie Baby', eradicates elements of the musical that function as key liminal moments for both the female performer and the female observer. Other songs omitted from the film version include; 'Air', Jeanie's oration on air pollution, 'Frank Mills', Crissy's quiet reflection that serves to prepare for the 'Be-in', and 'What a Piece of Work is Man'. Sheila's opening number, 'I Believe in Love' also receives similar treatment.

Released four years after the fall of Saigon, the film is now often remembered as 'an out of touch curiosity' (Grode, 2010:132) perhaps because it focused on an era

that America wanted to consign to the history books, but also out of touch because it negated the role of women; second wave feminists whose voices were shaping a generation's view of sexuality, employment, and the family. Furthermore, it also negates the voice of African Americans; as explored throughout this thesis, these moments in the stage production function in very specific ways which express something of the lived experience of blacks in America during the era of the civil rights movement, thus providing moments which allow for social dreaming, to imagine a better world. Given that racial and gender inequality still existed throughout the seventies in American society, there seems to be little conscious social or political reasoning to remove such moments during the time in which the film was produced other than the film has to rely heavily on the notion of nostalgia to communicate its storyline. In making such revisions, the tribe has been fragmented; they are no longer a group of like-minded individuals who celebrate their multiplicity and rebel against the dominant parental culture whilst searching for their utopia. Instead, they are portrayed as individuals who cannot avoid subscribing to rigid, patriarchal and ideological cultural codes.

In providing an analysis of the film version of *Hair,* I have identified how 'utopian literature is constantly changing, adding new forms' (Sargent, 2010: 32) and I propose that this is the manner in which the stage version of *Hair* can most comfortably be considered as a literary utopia. In its original format, the structure of the musical itself departs from the rigidity of the traditional book musical's linear narrative format by utilising a fragmented structure which allows for departures from what could be perceived as the central narrative concern. The orchestration of the musical indicates a departure too for the sound of the musical; for example, the inclusion of a sitar in the list of instrumentation illustrates how composers were rethinking the standard orchestral pit line-up of the musical and, as Wollman proposes, *Hair* introduced the language of rock to musical theatre. Dyer's framework has provided a useful lens through which we can consider how *Hair* is utopian; such values are inherent in both the narrative

and the musical numbers but instead of employing nostalgia, *Hair* looks firmly forward towards a new, better world. Where *Hair* has relied on 'looking back' (in its filmic format), the utopian values are eradicated largely as a result of relying on the traditional, tried-and-tested codes of both the musical and a naturalistic cinematic practice. Carlson argues that it is difficult for audiences to 'escape the influence' of previous productions and this dynamic affects both the reception and the creative process (1994: 8). Justin Williams makes a similar claim in terms of rap music: 'how borrowing functions is largely dependent on the particular context and the interpretive lens one utilizes in reception' (2013: 168). Both scholars suggest that memory and context are integral processes of reception and this is perhaps key to why the film of *Hair* seems to dilute the utopian aspects of the original production. Although the media attempted to turn the Vietnam War into a form of nostalgic memory, the sceptical climate of the seventies, particularly following Watergate, meant that the film perhaps did not resonate in this context. As the analysis shows, its somewhat outdated attitudes towards gender and race failed to capture the vitality and promise of the sixties. It is in the rethinking and reimagining of 'stale' art forms (as proposed in chapter one), and how they can be reinvented, that *Hair*'s utopian values are revealed; as the forerunner to the concept musical, it employed a new approach to structure, born out of experimental theatre, that perhaps revolutionised the development of the musical in later years.

Utopian Practice

Dyer's proposition of nostalgia is also echoed in Hetherington's discussion of utopic spaces, briefly discussed in the previous chapter. Here too, Hetherington asserts that 'the expressive utopic is one that often looks to the past for its authenticity but selectively, often focusing on, and identifying with, the marginal and oppressed – and their ways of life', subsequently arguing that the character of the utopic is one that forms as a result of the spatial practices combining with the values of the 'tribal identifications and identities' (1998: 135). Sargent highlights how the sixties produced an 'explosion of intentional communities' which

withdrew from larger society to demonstrate that their utopia could be put into practice (2010: 33, 42). The particular use of the word 'tribal' is of interest given that *Hair* specifically assigns this term to the ensemble, which, as previously discussed, subliminally suggests a link to the native American; a marginal and oppressed group in American history. Indeed, the notion of utopic spaces was a focus of the struggle for civil rights in the African American community; 'activists battled for space. They struggled for the physical space of buses, public schools, and lunch counters' (Trodd, 2008: 25). bell hooks has labelled these as 'spaces of agency' (1992) in that, artists transformed America's margins into spaces of resistance and freedom, which as Trodd asserts, 'transformed the very concept of margins' (ibid.) In previous chapters, I have noted the ways in which calls for change have utilised the language of history to evoke ideas of renewal, however, in doing so this often served to highlight the chasm between those who were excluded from independence and those who were not, or rather 'the clash between the American dream and everyday American reality' (Ellison, 2003: 31). Trodd proposes that this created a state of limbo (thus echoing the notion of the liminal phase of Van Gennep's *Rites of Passage*), where activists 'challenged America's historically segregated space with the integrated time of its living protest history' (2008: 26), reflected in the rhetoric of several of Martin Luther King's speeches. This liminal space could be considered 'no-place' which refers back to the Greek etymology of the word utopia.

Furthermore, the notion of the utopic space is echoed in Foucault's article *Of Other Spaces*, in which he defines heterotopia ('hetero', stemming from the Greek meaning 'other', 'different') as 'a space of illusion…a space that is other. [. . .] a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted' (1986: 22). His insistence is firmly placed on the plurality of spaces of otherness, therefore eradicating the notion that utopia is one, unified vision of a perfect future. Thus, in Foucauldian terms, heterotopia is considered to be a counter-site or site of resistance whereas for Hetherington (1997), heterotopias

'organize a bit of the social world in a way different to that which surrounds them. [. . .] as an example of an alternative way of doing things (viii). However, what is clear is that 'hope for a different future lingers in most historical and contemporary narratives on social and educational change. And at any given time in history, there are numerous, often competing, utopian and dystopian visions that are constantly being negotiated, locally and globally' (Milojevic, 2003: 446). The idea of utopian and dystopian visions simultaneously competing is intriguing given that this seems to underpin *Hair*'s narrative, particularly in act two, where Claude's ultimate fate – which illustrates a dystopian future – is placed alongside the Tribe's plea to imagine a better future ('Let the Sunshine In'). These two narrative strands are ultimately competing against each other in the finale of the show. Furthermore, spaces of otherness are highlighted and explored in the production; these are often drawn from history ('Colored Spade', 'Abie Baby') and are often uncomfortably navigated to reinforce the tension created by the juxtaposition of freedom and resistance. For example, 'Yes, I's Finished' segues immediately into 'Abie Baby' but the doo-wop group of backing singers (here depicted as cotton pickers working on the land) remains in the scene whilst the audience is presented with a vision of a female, black president. These two powerful images essentially distil images of a not too distant past, or a dystopian future (should the African American community remain oppressed in society), alongside the possibilities of a hopeful, utopian future should their civil rights be granted and fulfilled. This is indeed a powerful moment where complex ideologies are at play as the latter image attempts to critically dismantle the former and, as Wegner notes, the narrative utopia has the 'capacity to mediate between two different cultural and social realities, between the world that is and that which is coming into being' (2002: 37).

Heterotopia relies on an understanding of its connection to utopia but where these two elements diverge is in their treatment of the imagined elsewhere, the better place. The latter asserts that, in terms of its etymology, the 'no-place' or 'good-place' only exists elsewhere whilst heterotopia 'offers a functional and

reflective agency for change or commentary in contemporary society' which affords it 'a direct, functional relationship to that time and place' (Tompkins, 2014: 18). As Hetherington (1997) asserts, heterotopia operates to suggest an 'alternate ordering', offering insight into how the society may, in the future, be improved. As outlined extensively in previous chapters, *Hair* contains moments which function as liminal, that is, they are in-between states and function as 'what if?' moments. Such songs and scenes reflect on the past to communicate the present, lived experience and, furthermore, suggest how society may be improved in the future. Perhaps the most concrete examples of these moments are explored in chapter two, which outline how certain songs could be read as powerful, liminal moments for African Americans. Indeed, these songs function as utopian moments, in which a better world is imagined, but perhaps more convincingly, should be read as heterotopian moments as they offer a commentary on contemporary society and provide a functional, reflective agency for change. In summary, 'heterotopia describes the relationship between performed worlds and the actual world beyond the theatre, holding the potential to spatialize how socio-political relationships might work differently beyond the stage' (Tompkins, 2014: 19). This relationship is key to understanding the function of heterotopias; it relies largely on intersecting with its cultural context rather than simply imagining a 'good place' somewhere, elsewhere. Moving the argument beyond space might also allow for a consideration of form and structure in using heterotopia to explore and push against the traditional boundaries of theatre. This argument could also be applied to the heterotopic nature of the structure of *Hair* itself; it builds on and utilises the traditional form of the musical whilst also presenting ways in which the musical itself can change. It suggests that the genre does not need to be quite so rigid in terms of how it approaches narrative and the means through which this is communicated. Indeed, Tompkins notes there is scope for applying this framework in an analysis of text.

Tompkins also acknowledges that theatre is removed from the actual world but resonates with it by having the capacity to reveal something of culture and

society, essentially connecting the play with the world beyond it. In doing so, she recalls the work of Howard Barker in proposing a 'braver theatre' which 'is not about life as it is lived at all, but about life as it might be lived' (1993: 52). This 'braver theatre' echoes something of Buchen's initial response to the function of the tribe in *Hair*, in which he too asserts that they provide a model for life as it might be lived. Furthermore, *Hair*'s focus on the Vietnam War provides a direct cultural resonance; commenting on a site in the actual world, it generates a connection whereby the audience may be prompted to evaluate, or re-evaluate, their attitude to the conflict. Whilst Tompkins makes it clear that theatrical performance cannot directly intervene literally in the actual world, it can offer stagings of what does not appear to be 'there' by highlighting gaps in both place and space. *Hair* uses the tribe to do exactly this; the notion of living as a body of people which reflects and celebrates multiplicity provides a blueprint for a fractured American society. It suggests how we could live as one harmonious, united body of people by allowing for – and furthermore, celebrating – individual difference. Tompkins's proposition of theatre as heterotopia deserves further exploration as it seems to provide a model for illuminating the ways in which *Hair* might be considered utopian.

Whilst proposing that theatre can conjure the suggestion of 'an infinity of places', Tompkins also suggests that the venue can provide 'traces of what has gone before' (8). This was certainly the case in the original Off-Broadway production of *Hair*, which – as outlined in earlier chapters – allowed the bowels of the theatre to be visible to the audience. Such an aesthetic decision allows the mechanisms of the theatre to be in full view; there is no pretence, the audience are not asked to relinquish their knowledge that this is merely a theatrical performance through the creation of a façade. This offers multiple meanings in which the character on-stage can 'occupy more than one reality, time, or place without questioning the bounds of theatrical possibility' (8), that is, whilst recognising theatre has the ability to present imaginary or fictional places, it also has the ability to simultaneously present more realistic situations. The notion of the venue itself

containing traces of what has gone before is particularly interesting when surveying one of the most recent revivals of *Hair*: the Hope Mill Theatre production, in Manchester in November 2016. This theatre, a converted cotton mill, seemed the most appropriate of venues; ghosts of the industrial revolution seemed to haunt every corner, a now-abandoned marker of an industrial age that once dominated the economy and life-blood of the United Kingdom. This provides resonances which go beyond the theatrical production; for a British audience it bears markers of an era of prosperity (the Industrial Revolution) which the country no longer experiences, suggesting time and transience.

In broadening the argument to a consideration of heterotopia, it is possible to recognise where the power of *Hair* actually lies. It does not simply lie in Dyer's proposition of the utopian nature of the musical in offering 'temporary answers to the inadequacies of [the] society' (1992:25), instead it resides in *Hair* being read '*against* the context of a real or actual world' (Tompkins, 2014: 25). The audience is prompted to consider the alternative world presented on stage (that of peace, love and harmony, whilst celebrating multiplicity within the tribe) against the actual world they inhabit. For audiences in the original productions of *Hair* this would perhaps be an easier connection to make given the social and political context of the sixties. For more contemporary audiences in subsequent revivals, the connections may hold less resonance. In previous chapters, I have given specific examples of how revival productions have attempted to highlight such connections but I wish to turn to a very specific example of how this was attempted – and achieved – in the 2016 Hope Mill Theatre revival mentioned above. As the house lights dimmed, the audience were greeted by the sounds of Mike Pence, the then Vice-President elect's voice booming from the speakers as he introduced the President-Elect, Donald J. Trump. An instant hush descended over the audience as they attempted to digest the implications of what they were hearing. Immediately, subliminal connections were made between the misogynist, racist and polarising language of Trump's presidential campaign and the political concerns which lie at the very centre of *Hair.* Banners raised by the cast no longer

read ‘Make Love, Not War’ and the words were instead replaced with simply; ‘Not My President’. The enormity of the slogans hung in the air as the audience no doubt began to make more contemporary connections to the world about to be presented on-stage and the actual world they currently inhabit. This was also further reiterated at other points in the performance, where black members of the tribe donned white gloves and performed ‘Yes I’s Finished/Abie Baby’ in a parody of minstrelsy. Given that minstrel shows were still popular on British television until 1978 and in touring stage productions until 1987, the resonances with a British audience here are clear. This form of re-appropriation was enacted in a manner which would speak directly to this particular audience demographic. When coupled with banners held aloft by the tribe declaring ‘Black Lives Matter’ then the contemporary references to our continued racist practices are succinct. This production may have been fifty years later than its original appearance Off-Broadway, but following Tompkins’s argument, the production shows that heterotopias can possess a temporal element: ‘the effects (ideological, emotional, affective) that they produce move and shift in and through time’ (178).

The production itself was stripped back to its 1967 roots and I imagine the immersive experience was akin to its original form at the Public Theatre. The material remained as fresh and incisive as ever, moreover its relevance to current world affairs almost fifty years after its premiere was rather startling. It seems the world had learnt nothing in that intervening period. In wrestling with its Others, America seemed to have merely invited more of the same; the dominant, white, capitalist, male voice had once again silenced those who, in the audience of the 2009 revival with a newly-inaugurated black President, perhaps felt that they were no longer exiled to the margins. This production did not embody the spirit or joy of that production but it certainly spoke of an urgency, a collective call to action.

The notion of the ‘collective’ is also worthy of further investigation, as Tompkins argues that theatre’s function does not rely solely on the individual audience member’s reactions but should also take into consideration the larger community

response. Hetherington defines the utopic space as something beyond just the physical site itself and proposes instead that such representational sites are 'temporal situations, events, which occur in particular places that open up the possibilities of resistance within society to certain marginal groups' (1997: 22), thus allowing for a consideration of the audience or, the community of spectators who have gathered to share in the live event. It is worthwhile therefore, pausing to consider Victor Turner's notion of 'communitas' and the ways in which it has the potential to 'break[s] in through the interstices of structure, in liminality' (Weber, 1995: 528).

Turner's definition of communitas refers to the feelings embodied as a result of a community of people sharing a common experience, and in itself forms an essential component of anti-structure (in conjunction with liminality). What is particularly intriguing is the way in which this was being manifest in sixties society, such an example can be found in examining the activities surrounding 'Freedom Summer' in 1964. In an attempt to get more African Americans registered to vote in the state of Mississippi, the Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organised teams of volunteers (mainly white students) to work in counties throughout the state. African Americans had been essentially prevented from voting because of the constitutions and amendments to laws that had been enacted, perhaps most notably the introduction of literacy tests administered by white registrars. The lack of access to education for many African Americans ensured these tests were yet another barrier to prevent access to the voting system and because of their increased presence in Mississippi, SNCC were able to establish freedom schools to assist with preparing for the required literacy tests. Three volunteers were brutally murdered during this summer of activities: James Chaney (a black Congress of Racial Equality activist, CORE), Michael Schwerner (a white CORE organiser), and Andrew Goodman (a white Freedom Summer volunteer). This event brought national media attention to the activities of SNCC and the discriminative practices of the state of Mississippi. On August 4th, 1964, the news that the bodies had been found was relayed to the audience by Pete

Seeger, who was performing a concert in Meridian, Mississippi. He recalls 'there wasn't any shouting, there was just silence, I saw lips moving as though they were in prayer' (2014) and he asked those gathered to join hands, after which they began singing 'We Shall Overcome'. The brutality served to bring together a community; following the funeral of James Chaney, in which Dave Dennis (director of CORE) called the community to further action, churches throughout the state were filled and attendance rapidly increased. Those present at the time still recall this powerful formation of a community, centred around churches as places of congregation which utilised singing as a tool to represent communitas.

Turner posits three forms of communitas: normative (the transformation of social structures for the purposes of control), ideological, which is most frequently applied to utopian models of society and finally, spontaneous communitas, an existential gathering of people which often occurs during some form of 'happening' (of which, Freedom Summer is a perfect example). Turner proposes that the ideological communitas lies somewhere in between the other two forms and that a utopian model of society may be developed by ways in which 'all human activities would be carried out on the level of spontaneous communitas' (1982: 48). In 2012, the anthropologist Edith Turner (his widow) published an extended discussion of communitas, devoting a chapter to the study of the power of music in creating communitas. She argues that the 'phenomenon of flow' inherent in the experiencing and enjoyment of music brings people together; the ephemeral nature of music means that this moment is only fleeting and therefore fulfils the requirements for spontaneous communitas. Indeed, the utopian nature of music has been relatively widely discussed. In her book, *Utopia as Method,* Ruth Levitas argues that a discussion of music's utopian qualities contains numerous layers of debate; a consideration of the music (score) itself, the music's relationship to its narrative content, and the performance or music-making process. It is this social practice of performance, or in Turner's words, the 'flow' of music, 'that is ascribed prefigurative or transformative utopian qualities' (2013: 55).

The notion of 'flow' in terms of the role of the audience in live performance is of particular interest given the centrality of audience participation in *Hair.* Drawing on the work of Csikszentmihalyi, flow is 'the positive aspects of human experience – joy, creativity, the process of total involvement with life' (2002: xi), often achieved when there is a 'sense of participation in determining the content of life' (4). He argues that flow activities, such as art, performance, ritual, and sports are constructed to 'help participants and spectators achieve an ordered state of mind that is highly enjoyable' (72). Using rock concerts as an example, Csikszentmihalyi argues that this is an instance where a large group of people can experience the event together, process the same information, and think and feel the same things (this latter point will be debated below). This engendering of a 'collective effervescence' (Durkheim, 1967) is evident in live performance because spectators – the audience – have a sense of belonging to a group sharing a concrete experience. In *Hair*'s case, there are moments of audience participation which similarly can lead to a sensation of joy created by the work; such moments offered by the musical are both interactive and participatory, the former is clearly seen throughout act one (as discussed in the previous chapter) and the latter in the final song of the show, where audience members are directly invited to enter the performance space and dance and sing with the cast in the final number. The dual relationship between communitas and flow form what Turner refers to as 'the zone', using a sporting analogy to describe it as the space in which 'team, opponents, and spectators are at one in a great play' (2012: 51). The same relationship can be applied to theatrical experiences, perhaps best elucidated in Millie Taylor's explanation of her response to the musical, *Jersey Boys,* in which she describes a sensation of joy resulting

> from a shared experience of emotional contagion and communitas with my fellow audience members, produced through recognition of the musical materials which activated personal associations and nostalgia, mimetic response to audience members and performers, and the physical activity of participation
>
> (2012: 154)

Of course, not all musical theatre performances afford such opportunities for this kind of response and the jukebox musical to which Taylor refers brings with it a back-catalogue of music and the concurrent memories linked to that music when first experienced, which also suggest that nostalgia is inherent. For audiences attending subsequent revivals of *Hair,* the element of nostalgia is also inherent; five songs from the show made it into the top five positions of the pop charts, with 'Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In' as recorded by The 5th Dimension, named 'Record of the Year' in 1970. Furthermore, songs from *Hair* have featured in numerous advertising campaigns and have been sampled extensively in rap.[78] It could be argued that because these songs are so well-known, when performed in the context of a theatrical production of *Hair,* they could also provide similar nostalgic memories, or certainly moments of recognition, as jukebox musicals do. However, *Hair* also invites the physical activity of participation. Clearly, this is not an opportunity afforded to all members of the audience, depending on the format of the theatrical space, but the 'emotional contagion' which has been built throughout the show means that audience members who do not enter the performance space may still clap, sing and move in their seat. In the most recent revival of *Hair,* the audience's response to the performance was visceral. By the time the company reached 'The Flesh Failures' the majority of the audience were openly – and loudly – sobbing. As theatre audiences are a diverse group of individuals and therefore a collective, singular response cannot be surmised, it can be argued that there were a number of reasons why this response was prompted. For those in the audience who may have seen the original productions (and there was a significant proportion of the audience that fell into this demographic), the performance may have prompted emotions connected to nostalgia in terms of the music, but they may have also been recalling the televisual images of the Vietnam War that permeated the sixties. For younger

[78] In addition to songs from the show being recorded by popular artists including Shirley Bassey, Diana Ross, and Barbra Streisand, they have also featured in advertising campaigns (Muller Yoghurt, Ford cars) and have been sampled in numerous rap releases including Run DMC's 'Down With the King', NAS 'Halftime', LL Cool J's 'New Love', and Mos Def's 'Excellence'.

audiences, they may have made connections between the contemporary references to the President-Elect of the United States and the material. For some, it may have been a perceived emotional connection to the music or the character of Claude. This visceral emotional reaction was somewhat muted in previous revivals performed in a proscenium arch setting and it is therefore quite possible that the audience setting, which resulted from the thrust staging, simply fostered an emotional contagion whereby the audience 'fed-off' each other's openly emotional response. Whilst the company launched into their encore of 'How I Love This Hippie Life' (rarely heard thanks to the song being written for the film version and then cut in the final edit), the audience were still trying to process the implications of what they had seen and experienced. However, by the time the song segued into the second encore ('Let the Sunshine In'), the audience had somehow mustered the energy and positivity required to join the cast in the performance space. This element of audience participation has the potential to 'temporarily re-shape our social being, make it special, intensify it [. . .] and perhaps, on occasion, allow us to perceive ourselves anew' (White, 2013: 206). The cast invited audience members into this space, dragging them by the hand to join them in singing and dancing; others in the audience gladly volunteered their involvement, 'in a state of communitas people are less aware of the boundaries between them in a physical sense' (ibid. 140). At this point, it became clear that the two communities – the tribal cast and the body of spectators – had become one, albeit transient, community: 'in every performance [. . .] there are at least two things going on, one among the performers and one in the audience. In rare cases, the two bond together and a truly utopian moment is created' (Sargent, 2010: 48-49).

Utopian Social/Political Theory

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Dolan proposes that performance itself becomes a 'doing' and, as such, utopian performatives have the ability to 'make palpable an affective vision of how the world might be better' (2005: 6). These moments communicate an alternative experience and 'spring from a complex

alchemy of form and content, context and location, which take shape in moments of utopia as doings, as process, as never finished gestures toward a potentially better future' (8). As Sargent concurs, utopias offer a glimpse of a society at a particular moment in time; they communicate how the authors perceive society can be better, 'break[ing] through the barriers of the present and encourage[s] people to want change and work for it' (2010: 104). It is clear that *Hair* was born of such a complex alchemy; its form and content challenged hegemonic notions of what the musical had previously been and should continue to be. Similarly, the context and location of its original incarnations were, in themselves, utopic spaces. However, the musicals' utopian possibility lies most convincingly in its sung moments, which, in Dolan's words 'reanimate humanism'. These moments articulate the possibility of social change and do so by 'deconstruct[ing] the inculcations of conservative ideas about gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and other identity markers' (2005: 21). Throughout this thesis I have highlighted ways in which *Hair* deconstructs traditional, conservative notions of identity. Furthermore, the celebration of the timbre of the female African American voice in the 2009 revival of 'Abie Baby' (as discussed in chapter two), allows the 'performers' charisma and virtuosity [to] motivate the utopian performative' (30). Highlighting occurrences when the fourth wall is broken, Dolan further proposes that moments of physical interaction between audience and performer reduce the chasm between stage and house. The intimate proximity of this moment naturally forms a more meaningful, emotional response between the individual audience member and the performer, but Dolan asserts that the utopian element lies beyond this and that 'communitas comes from watching fellow spectators witness and anticipate this shared exchange' (31). *Hair* rejoices in these moments; whether it is performed in thrust or proscenium stage settings, the Tribe's interaction with the audience is an element that always remains.

The impact of *Hair* on its audiences is not to be diminished. In interviews with audience members who saw the production in the late sixties/early seventies, the element of audience interaction and participation is etched on their memory. One

member remarks that the feelings the production produced 'stayed with me for a long time. It was absolutely fabulous but Vietnam was so raw. The show had such an emotional impact and after, I felt sad. Just. . .sad.'[79] This remark perhaps best summarises what Dolan refers to as the 'disco-ball moment' prior to Schechner's 'cool down' (2005: 19). Dolan argues that disco-ball moments are in fact utopian performatives, purporting that these moments do not need to be measured in terms of success through their application to social action, or everyday life, but instead that it is enough to simply experience these feelings in the moment; 'such intensity of *feeling* is politics enough for utopian performatives' (20). Such feelings linger too in the cool down phase, the moment when the house lights go up and the spectators are left to file out of the theatre. The sense of euphoria remains at this point as spectators discuss the production with those around them who were also in attendance; interviews show this was certainly the case with early productions of *Hair*; one audience member recalls leaving the theatre (at the age of 16) excitedly discussing the manner in which two women left the theatre during the nude scene at the end of act one and how this delighted both her and her classmates,[80] or another who was so moved by the emotional impact prompted by the references to Vietnam. Whilst these elements of the cool down may not be replicated in contemporary revivals, it is worth noting that 21st century musical theatre has certainly identified numerous ways – or rather, marketing ploys – to extend the cool down significantly beyond those initial moments of departure from the theatre. Purchasing a t-shirt and other items of memorabilia, along with the essential item, the cast recording, means that those utopian performative disco-ball moments can be relived time and again in the comfort of one's home. Whilst the context of the narrative content of *Hair* may

[79] I am extremely grateful to Judy Davies for sharing her memories of *Hair* and the 1970 National Touring Production

[80] I am indebted to Gail Mason for sharing her experiences of seeing *Hair* in 1977, while still a young girl, as part of an organised school trip. My heartfelt thanks also go to Sue Hudson for sharing her memories of the 1970 UK touring production.

not impact in the same emotional ways, musical theatre has certainly identified how to sustain feelings of utopia beyond the initial cool down.

In her summary of the discussion of reanimated humanism, Dolan implores performance to 'teach us to love [and] think critically about social relations' and, interestingly highlights the important role of sentimentality in returning to notions of 'peace' and 'love' in engaging emotion, 'passion and fervor as part of a necessary, crucial representational counterdiscourse' (23). In doing so, she does not propose that the performance itself has the capacity to alter or change society, but certainly asserts that those who have witnessed the performance are indeed changed for the better. This is perhaps illustrated in the review of the 2016 revival, discussed throughout this chapter, and a consideration of Dolan's four pillars of the complex alchemy that serves to create the utopian moment; form, content, context and location. The location of this production, its 'representational space', resonates with Hetherington's proposition that these spaces 'involve making use of sites that have been left behind [. . .] as fragments produced by the tensions within the contradictory space of capitalism' (1997: 23). An abandoned cotton mill, now renovated into a theatrical space and centre for performance indicates that the location of the 2016 revival was indeed, a utopic space. Whilst the form and content of the musical remain largely the same as previous incarnations, minor adjustments have been implemented in order to reflect the context of this production. Dyer recognises the link between utopian sensibility and the lived experience of the audience, and this production managed to take advantage of the impending inauguration of the President-elect and the concerns arising from the polarising language (particularly when juxtaposed against the message of hope communicated by Obama in his campaigns of 2008 and 2012) employed in his presidential campaign. This context was then emotionally reinforced through subtle modifications in performance, for example, the doo-wop trio which accompany 'Abie Baby' appeared wearing white gloves, drawing further attention to those on the margins who had previously been subjugated by minstrelsy. The audience responded accordingly, with a fleeting

sense of discomfort, later replaced by a moment of communitas in which the audience interacted directly with the Tribe in the encores. These two moments alone illustrate the power of the utopian performative, 'its' fleetingness leaves us melancholy yet cheered, because for however brief a moment, we felt something of what redemption might be like, of what humanism could really mean, of how powerful might be a world in which our commonalities would hail us over our differences' (Dolan, 2005: 8).

Wolf notes that the sixties highlighted how out-of-step the musical was with the society in which it was produced; 'its topics were apolitical; its characters larger-than-life and unbelievable; its structure was like a fairy tale; and its music, though hummable, sounded nothing like rock n' roll, the popular music of the day' (2004: 311). She further notes that this prompted a 'seismic transformation of style, content and form' (309). Nowhere are these transformations better exemplified than in *Hair.* Fifty years after its initial release, the musical in its reimagined forms has cemented its relevance in the history of musical theatre and verified its ability to speak to the urgency of social change. Moreover, this chapter has analysed ways in which its form and content signalled a new direction for the genre, whilst highlighting how the context and location of its original, and subsequent productions, have allowed for a consideration of *Hair* as utopian. In doing so, *Hair* uses what I have proposed initially as acts of resistance – and related transgressive practices in wider popular culture - to reveal and highlight the fragmented relations that exist in society. By placing its form and content at the margins, coupled with its occupation of the transitional, liminal space, the musical engenders feelings of utopia, presenting the audience with the possibility of social change.

Conclusion

The analysis in this thesis has explored the performance of rebellion in *Hair* in the context of the history of musical theatre. It has assessed the musical in its specific cultural and historical moment by tracing its relationship to the ideals and concerns of the countercultural movement of the sixties. In doing so, I have recognised *Hair*'s unique place in the development of musical theatre by exploring how its structure and form can in themselves be considered as acts of rebellion against the established traditions of the Broadway musical. The analysis undertaken has focused largely on the micro-narratives presented throughout *Hair*; moments which communicate the human being in process which prompts the spectator to action, for example; 'Colored Spade', 'Abie Baby', 'My Conviction' and 'White Boys/Black Boys'. Such moments have been considered in the context of *Hair* rebelling against the traditions of the book musical by adopting a structure which alters the relationship between the actor and spectator. *Hair*'s insistence on breaking the fourth wall is explored at length in the context of both the original production and recent revivals. In considering *Hair* as a fragmented musical, this thesis has investigated how its structure and form directly reflect the fragmented society from which it came. This has been achieved through recognising its links to ideas and practices of protest and the experimental theatre that resonated with protest, perhaps most clearly seen in the similarities I have highlighted between this musical, the methods of the Open Theatre, and *Viet Rock.* Situating *Hair* in its political, cultural and musical moment has allowed for an examination of its reception and how the musical itself was embroiled in further protest.

Close examination of the score has revealed that *Hair*'s musical language can also be considered an act of resistance against the established traditions of the Broadway stage; the evidence and analysis presented indicate links between the youth culture and their liminal status, and the perceived unsuitability of rock in musicals. Placing the score and music of *Hair* at the forefront of my enquiry has allowed me to illuminate the ways in which sung moments may also be read as acts of resistance. Chapters two and three have focused on songs that serve to

reveal a postmodern approach to our understanding of identity. The analysis makes reference to a rich African American musical heritage by taking into consideration the links between songs in *Hair* and work-songs, blues music, doo-wop, and funk. It has highlighted how these songs also reinforce the notion of rebellion in that they function as quasi protest songs. The agency of the performer and the grain of the African American voice have also been considered as additional markers of rebellion. In adopting this approach, I have asserted that the African American female voice is also an act of resistance against the legit, Broadway sound favoured by musicals.

Deliberating *Hair*'s representation of those on the margins of society has uncovered ways in which the musical's approach to race and gender can be considered as an act of rebellion. The playful, camp strategies employed throughout the musical serve to draw attention to the artificiality of gender and my analysis shows how *Hair* largely resists falling prey to the traditional tropes that musical theatre frequently employs; tropes which have perpetuated stereotypes surrounding women. My observations are linked to the early stages of the second-wave feminist movement by asserting that one of the lead characters, Sheila, embodies the liminoid (as conceptualised by Turner) and she functions in the same manner as the feminist movement at that time by seeking to interrupt, disrupt and restructure social norms. By situating my argument in a discussion of feminist phonocentrism I have illuminated the ways in which certain songs in the score ('Black Boys/White Boys') are powerful moments of identification for women which are created through the presentation of girl groups who utilise a subjective musical language. In considering gender-as-performance, I have recognised how *Hair* features moments which destabilise society's normative expectations through analysis of lead characters, their songs and dialogue. My argument has also been framed by an assertion that all of the performances of masculinity offered in *Hair* queer the normative expectations and are a rebellion against hegemonic masculinity (and, by association, capitalist ideologies.)

Ultimately I propose that all lead characters perform acts of resistance against normative acts of gender.

This thesis has also considered ways in which *Hair* continues to embody acts of resistance even when recycled in other forms. My analysis of the work of Nina Simone and Public Enemy has identified the additional cultural significance the 'text' gains when it is reimagined in a different context. These case studies have not only solidified my argument that *Hair* raises cultural consciousness through the power of a 'black collective memory' (Rose in Lena, 2004: 305), but have also considered these as further acts of resistance. Drawing on Carlson's notion of *The Haunted Stage* and employing similar strategies adopted to analyse cover songs in popular music, I have ultimately asserted that *Hair* continues to resonate even beyond its original moment. My work has also recognised how subsequent revivals can be read as communicating acts of resistance by placing them in their cultural moment and locating the agency of the performer at the centre of the analysis. However, what emerges in my analysis of the 1979 film version of *Hair* is a more ambivalent attitude towards race, gender and rebellion. This is perhaps because the film adheres to traditional cinematic Hollywood codes but it should also be recognised that the musical was written by a white, male creative team who attempt to account for multiple different identities. This ambivalence may also arise from the cultural moment in which the material is presented and so I have been careful to link my analysis to its socio-historical moment in order to elucidate the ways in which *Hair* is perhaps most powerful when it speaks to contemporary societal concerns. In my reading of the most recent revival of *Hair*, I have recognised the links between the musical's treatment of marginalised identities and the current political climate which continues to relegate them to such positions in contemporary society.

In considering the ways in which *Hair* has raised cultural consciousness largely through its inextricable ties to the notions of resistance and rebellion, my conclusions situate this musical in a tradition of art as utopia, both as theory and practice. When *Hair* is considered in the context of specific cultural moments its

message is more poignant and urgent, and it is in these situations that *Hair* can also be most comfortably read as a performance of rebellion. Furthermore, the content of *Hair* suggests how we might seek a better future, how we can be better; this is largely reinforced through the centrality and multiplicity of the Tribe. These observations are solidified by comparing the stage version with the film version, and then situating my analysis in Dolan's work on utopia and theatre. I have considered the responses of audience members in early productions, alongside those from more contemporary productions, which has prompted an exploration of the feelings that *Hair* generates in audiences. Subsequently, I argue that *Hair*'s utopian features are to be found most convincingly in the ways in which the musical communicates the desire for urgent social change.

Uncovering further value in the study of *Hair* has allowed me to assert that this musical represents a seminal moment in the history of musical theatre and, to that end, it is worth exploring those musicals which immediately followed *Hair* in order to further assess its cultural impact. As cited in previous chapters, scholars have argued that *West Side Story* represented a liminal moment in musical theatre history as it marked a turning point in both the kinds of stories musical theatre chose to tell and the ways in which these stories were communicated. I would argue that, based on the analysis presented in this thesis, *Hair* also comfortably functions as a liminal moment in the history of the genre; its postdramatic approach to narrative and storytelling, coupled with the musical language it employs, represents a very specific departure in the development of the art form, one which signals and signposts new directions for the musical to follow. Indeed, this observation is supported by musicals released throughout the years immediately following *Hair; Company* (1970) for example, is structured as a series of vignettes which are not presented in chronological order, but revolve around the main character's celebrations for his 35th birthday, it fully dispenses with the technique of the linear narrative and is often considered to be the first concept musical. In 1971, a number of musicals were released that employ the language of rock to communicate their narratives; *Godspell* and *Jesus Christ*

Superstar perhaps being the most notable releases of this period. *Godspell* is of particular interest as it not only utilises popular music and, more frequently, folk-rock as the language of its characters, but its structure is one that perhaps reflects *Hair* more closely than any other. The first act features a series of scenes which, after the introduction of John the Baptist, bear little relation to any form of linear narrative that chronicles the life of Jesus. Act two however focuses more closely on the last seven days of Jesus' life. This structure bears a striking resemblance to that of *Hair*, whereby the story of Jesus could be considered to be treated in the same manner in which *Hair* treats the central narrative arc featuring Claude. *Godspell*'s orchestration also resembles the core instrumentation of *Hair*, relying heavily on electric guitar and keyboards, although it should be noted that the orchestra pit for *Godspell* is significantly scaled down.

Similarly, the instrumentation and musical language of *Jesus Christ Superstar* closely resembles that of *Hair*, whilst also heavily relying on amplification of the vocals to communicate its story. What is perhaps more significant about Lloyd Webber's musical is that it was released as a concept album before its stage debut. This perhaps indicates the ways in which the relationship between musical theatre and popular culture, or mass media, had shifted during the late sixties and early seventies. I believe that this was largely driven by the success of songs from *Hair* being released into the mainstream music market via isolated songs from the show and their subsequent success on the popular music charts. Other musicals of the early seventies also seem to develop the themes and structure first proposed by *Hair*. In 1973, *The Rocky Horror Show* was released, which explored the performance of sexuality and gender. Similarly, *A Chorus Line* (1975) also dealt with these themes through a series of vignettes or micro-narratives which were loosely bound together by the central theme of dancers auditioning for a role, which – like *Hair* – culminates in a climactic final number ('One') in which we see the individual become the collective. Although *Hair* approaches this in the opposite manner (the collective allows for an exploration of the individual), this notion of multiplicity and individuality is explored to perhaps a greater extent in *A*

Chorus Line. In the same year, *The Wiz* was released. Written by William F. Brown, with music and lyrics by Charlie Smalls – an African American – this musical represented the sound of the seventies. Frank Rich proposed that the musical managed to make connections between the wonderful world of Oz and 'the pride of urban black Americans', asserting that it was an 'expression of black self-respect' (1984). The main song from the musical, 'Ease on Down the Road' was released as a single by the disco group 'Consumer Rapport' and, after Motown acquired the rights to the show in 1977, the musical was released as a film a year later (and a year before the film release of *Hair*), starring Michael Jackson, Diana Ross, and Richard Pryor. Like *Hair,* the instrumentation of the musical calls for a significant brass and woodwind section, in addition to keyboards, guitars and two percussionists. The music of *The Wiz* represented the heterogeneous sound ideal throughout; echoing the sub-title of *Hair*, which stated its musical aims clearly, the cast recording was released as 'The Super Soul Musical' and in 2017 was preserved in the Library of Congress National Recording Registry as one of the 'sounds of the past [which] enrich our understanding of the nation's cultural history and our history in general' (Hayden in Cannady, 2017).

Through surveying musicals released in the immediate years following *Hair,* it is clear to see its influence in all. Of course, it is problematic to assert that without *Hair,* none of these musicals would have been made but it certainly invited – and promoted - exploration of the art form. As such, the value of a new interrogation of *Hair* becomes clear; placed in its context and afforded a significant detailed analysis, the musical is repositioned as a seminal moment in the development of musical theatre. Thus far, academic texts that have engaged with *Hair* tend to offer a more anecdotal or superficial engagement with the musical and I hope that this work will endeavour to reposition it as a theatrical work worthy of further study and investigation. Although the limits of its subsequent influence on musical theatre should not be over-estimated, I believe that this work prompts an alternative approach to further study of the genre. To that end, it addresses the apparent gaps in historical chronicles of the musical and their subsequent

academic interrogations, and, in considering pop musicology, offers an alternative method of reading musicals and their relevance in a specific historical moment.

This study represents a call for a re-consideration of the ways in which we 'read', understand and analyse musicals. A number of publications released in the early twenty-first century endeavour to address the negation of America's varied cultural history in the analysis of musical theatre but often fail to recognise the importance of popular music studies, particularly when trying to ascertain the influence of African American forms of entertainment on musical theatre. Such work is often focused on the dramatic or choreographic influences and, as a result, often neglects to fully explore the music or the agency of the musical performer. This thesis has presented ways in which popular music studies and musical theatre can become more closely aligned, particularly to elucidate the relationship between popular culture and theatre. In drawing together the intersections between popular music, musical theatre, popular culture, race, and gender it also offers suggestions for how the analysis of more contemporary musicals (e.g. *In the Heights, Hamilton*) may be approached and chapter four in particular examines the ways in which we could further consider intertextuality in musical theatre. Through examining the musical in the moment in which it was first presented, in addition to exploring its various resonances and re-imaginings, this thesis has suggested alternative ways in which we may deliberate the musical's cultural relevance and its intersections with other forms of media, for example, film.

Indeed, the film adaptation of *Hair* requires further study. Given its divergence from the original stage production, I am interested in the ways in which this particular recycling of the material has produced a more conservative approach towards the representations of race and gender. The film therefore invites a more detailed enquiry, utilising male and imperial gaze theory, to recognise how this particular reimagining of the musical is rather ambiguous and inconsistent in its approach to the representation of identity. This thesis has also suggested ways in which popular music studies and musical theatre studies might be more closely

aligned through a consideration of the African American 'voice' in musical theatre. The analysis has outlined how we may approach musical theatre in a less euro-centric way by considering the cultural influences on music, therefore reframing musicals and the ways in which we read them. I have analysed how musical theatre is recycled in various forms and this approach has indicated additional ways to consider the cultural significance of musical theatre. What has emerged from this work is an urgent need to reposition the female voice and the agency of performers at the centre of analyses of musical theatre. Adopting a feminist phonocentric approach to other works in the musical theatre catalogue will provide a valuable contribution to studies in the field, one which forms a counter-argument to existing work that highlights how roles assigned to women are secondary to the plot.

This work has addressed the paucity of analytical material relating to *Hair,* but there are significant portions of the score that are still yet to be explored. It should be noted that all the musical material in *Hair* may not be particularly worthy of further study. With a score featuring fifty-one musical moments it is important to identify those sections that are probably more appropriate for further analysis. I believe that this thesis has focused on those moments but I also recognise that there are other songs that feature in the score that have been negated, for example, 'Air', 'Frank Mills', 'What a Piece of Work is Man', and 'Good Morning Starshine'. Indeed, there are a significant number of songs written for *Hair* that did not feature in the Broadway production. These were released in 1970 under the title *Disinhairited* as a result of RCA Victor recognising the commercial interest the show had generated following the success of its original cast recording. In the CD liner notes, Nat Shapiro proposes that the album was 'an extension, an amplification and continuation of *Hair'* whilst insisting that those who yearned for the 'good old days' of Broadway were not the audience who would enjoy this work, instead '*Hair* belongs to the young. Its success is a phenomenon. Its significance is staggering. It is alive' (Shapiro, 1969). Future research may include a closer interrogation of the 'sound' of *Hair* through analysis

of these songs, particularly given that they appear to feature Baroque melodies juxtaposed against the sounds of Eastern Spiritualism and the indigenous music of Native Americans. Whilst it is recognised that there are limitations to the research that can be developed as a result of focusing on only one musical, it is hoped that some of the strategies I have outlined and employed can make a contribution to the way in which we approach the analysis of musical theatre.

Reframing the musical to become more closely aligned to cultural studies will hopefully serve to inform the ways in which we study identity in musical theatre; positioning those who have historically been placed at the margins of both society and performance at the centre of our interrogations, allows for a reconsideration of not only the agency of the performer, but also the varied and vibrant patchwork which constitutes and informs American culture. However, it must be recognised that adopting this approach also reveals further complexities. The creation and production of musical theatre is still largely dominated by white men who account for multiple and varied identities with no lived experience of these. This may prompt the reader to adopt an oppositional approach to the work. Throughout this thesis, I have adopted a critical musicology approach to the analysis, allowing me to highlight how musical theatre studies and popular music studies can become more closely aligned. This approach also requires caution in its application and I have been careful to highlight the reductive nature of asserting the absolute nature of music. Nevertheless, analysing music in its socio-historical context and exploring its cultural influences has provided a useful model for musical theatre studies to further employ, particularly in analysing more contemporary works that employ a specific musical language (for example, *Hamilton*). Reframing the musical, its relationship to its cultural moment, and considering the agency of performers will hopefully broaden our approach to the manner in which musicals function as utopias; not just through the feelings they embody and generate, but through the ways in which they can speak powerfully of a better world.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Musical Numbers and their functions in *Oklahoma!*

Act I

Musical Numbers	**Function/Relationship to the Book**
Overture	Presents units of all musical material from the show
Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'	Introduction to the male lead character, Curly in which he emotes about the beauty of the morning
Laurey's Entrance	Entrance of lead female character, singing the same musical material as Curly. Their potential romantic connection has already been established in the dialogue between Curly and Aunt Eller (Act 1, Scene 1)
The Surrey with the Fringe on Top	Curly explaining to Laurey how he will take her to the box social which has been discussed in the preceding dialogue
Kansas City	Will explaining his trip to Kansas City, already established in preceding dialogue with Aunt Eller
I Cain't Say No	Ado Annie explaining her attitude towards men, which reiterates the previous dialogue with Laurey
Entrance of Ensemble	Ensemble enter singing a refrain of 'Oh What a Beautiful Mornin', providing unity with the lead male character
Many a New Day	Laurey's response to learning that Curly has asked Gertie Cummings to the box social. The song serves as a reiteration of her dialogue; 'Whut'd I keer about that?'
It's a Scandal, It's an Outrage	Ali Hakim's song which reiterates his forced marriage to Ado Annie, outlined in the dialogue immediately prior to this
People will Say We're in Love	Curly and Laurey sing a duet to reinforce their dialogue (1943:19)
Pore Jud is Daid	Curly and Jud perform a duet based on the dialogue which opens Act 1, Scene 2
Lonely Room	Jud's solo in which he merely reiterates character flaws which have already been revealed in the dialogue and preceding song
Out of My Dreams/Dream Ballet	Laurey's solo and the dream ballet which outlines the possibility of Jud taking Laurey to the box social. This has already been established in the opening dialogue of Act 1, Scene 3.

Act II

Musical Numbers	Function/Relationship to the Book
Entr'acte	Reiterating some of the key musical material of the show
The Farmer and the Cowman	Dialogue in act one has established the feud between the farmer and the cowman. The chorus number functions as a moment to reinforce the need for unity
All Er Nuthin	Will sings to Ado Annie, outlining his 'demands' now that he has 'bought' her as his bride. No new information is revealed about these characters.
People Will Say We're in Love (Reprise)	Reiteration of act one material after Curly's marriage proposal to Laurey in the dialogue at the end of Act 2, scene 1
Oklahoma	Chorus number, sung at the wedding of Curly and Laurey, serving as a moment of unity and reiteration of the central myth
Finale Ultimo	Reprise of 'Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin', sung by the chorus to communicate complete unity and closure of the narrative arc

Appendix B: Musical Numbers and their functions in *West Side Story*

Act I

Musical Numbers	Function/Relationship to the book
Prologue	Instrumental: establishes rivalry of the Sharks and Jets through dance
Jet Song	Outlines the central motivations of the Jets, already communicated through dialogue in act 1, scene 1
Something's Coming	Tony expresses that he feels something is about to happen which is already evident in his dialogue with Riff at the opening of act 1, scene 2
The Dance at The Gym	Instrumental: further establishes rivalry of the gangs and introduces Maria to Tony

Maria	Tony expresses how he feels upon learning Maria's name at the end of act 1, scene 4
Tonight	Duet between Tony and Maria in which they explore their feelings for each other, already expressed in the dialogue in act 1, scene 5
America	A gang of Puerto Rican girls sing of their varying degrees of admiration for the country, already established in the preceding dialogue between the Sharks and their girls
Cool	Reiteration of Riff's dialogue in act 1, scene 6, instructing the Jets to play it 'cool' during the war council
One Hand, One Heart	Maria and Tony expressing their love for each other in their 'faux' wedding scene
Tonight (Quintet)	Various groups getting ready for the rumble which will take place, as we learned in act 1, scene 6, that evening
The Rumble	Instrumental: the two gangs fight

Act II

Musical Numbers	**Function/Relationship to the book**
I Feel Pretty	Maria telling the other Shark girls that she feels pretty
Somewhere	Ballet and song which reiterates Tony's dialogue: 'Then we'll find someplace where nothing can get to us' in act 2, scene 1
Gee, Officer Krupke	A comedy number in which the Jets propose their reasons for behaving as delinquents, already outlined in the preceding dialogue with Schrank
A Boy Like That/I Have a Love	Duet between Anita and Maria which stems from Anita revealing in a preceding line of dialogue that Tony is one of the Jets

Appendix C: Musical Numbers and their functions in *Hair*

Act I

Musical Numbers	**Function/Micro-Narrative**	**Style**
Aquarius (Tribe)		
Donna (Berger)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Rock
Hashish (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Folk
Sodomy (Woof)	Non-normative sexual practices, including homosexuality	Folk
Colored Spade (Hud)	The African-American lived experience	Funk
Manchester England (Claude)	Drop-out culture	Brit-Pop
I'm Black/Ain't Got No/Dead End (Woof, Hud, Dionne)	Racial inequality and urban poverty	Hard rock
I Believe in Love (Sheila)	Early second wave feminism	Pop
Air (Jeanie)	Pollution and the future of planet earth	Folk
Initials (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Minuet
I Got Life (Claude)	Generation gap	Rock
Going Down	Drop-out culture	Pop/Rock
Hair (Claude, Berger)	Performance of gender	Pop/Rock
My Conviction (Margaret Mead)	Performance of gender and drag	Folk (with suggestion of minuet)
Easy to be Hard (Sheila)	Social injustice	Pop ballad
Don't put it Down (Berger, Woof)	National identity/political crisis	Country and Western
Frank Mills (Crissy)		Folk (although indicated as 'gentle rock')
Be-In/Hare Krishna (Tribe)	Drug usage and spiritualism	Folk-rock (based on fast version of maha mantra)
Where do I go? (Claude/Tribe)	Generation gap/Draft into Vietnam War	Folk/Rock

Act II

Musical Numbers	Function/Micro-narrative	Style
Electric Blues (Tribe quartet)		Barbershop quartet/Rock
Black Boys (Tribe)	Miscegenation	Tequilla tempo/1950s pop
White Boys (Tribe)	Miscegenation	RnB
Walking in Space (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom of the mind	Folk/Slow rock
Yes I's Finished/Abie Baby (Tribe)	Racial inequality and gender performance	Doo-wop
3-5-0-0 (Tribe)	Racial inequality and injustice of war	Slow rock/Dixieland
What a Piece of Work is Man (Tribe duo)	Injustice of war	Folk
Good Morning Starshine (Sheila/Tribe)	Peace, harmony, future of planet earth	Folk/Medium Latin rock
Aquarius Reprise (Tribe)		
Manchester England Reprise (Claude)	Draft into Vietnam War	
Eyes Look your Last (Tribe)	Draft into Vietnam War	
The Flesh Failures (Tribe)	Military Industrial Complex and effects of the technocratic age	Rock (with funk bassline)
Let the Sunshine In (Tribe)	Drug usage and freedom	

Appendix D: Lyric amendments to 'Ain't Got No' – Live in London, 1968

Verse 2

Ain't got no **culture** [mother]/ Ain't got no **mother** [culture]

Ain't got no **father** [friends]/ Ain't got no **brother** [schoolin']

Ain't got no **children** [shine]/ Ain't got no **aunts** [underwear]

Ain't got no **uncles** [soap]/ Ain't got no **love** ['A' train]

Ain't got no mind

Verse 3

Ain't got no **country** [smokes]/ Ain't got no **schoolin'** [job]

Ain't got no **friends** [work]/ Ain't got no **nothing** [coins]

Ain't got no **water** [pennies]/ Ain't got no **air** [man]

Ain't got no **smokes** [ticket]/ Ain't got no **children** [token]

Verse 4 (added by Simone)

Ain't got no water/ Ain't got no love

Ain't got no faith/ Ain't got no God

Ain't got no wine/ Ain't got no money

Ain't got no faith/ Ain't got no God/ Ain't got no love